The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

A Quarterly

VOLUME LXX, NUMBER 1 OCTOBER 1964

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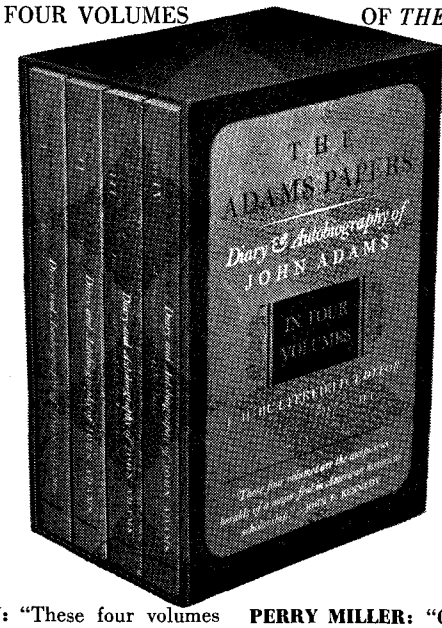
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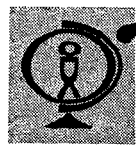
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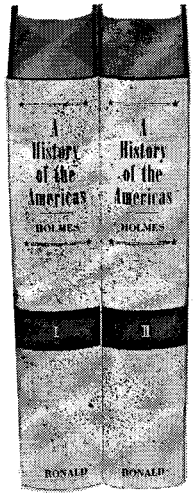
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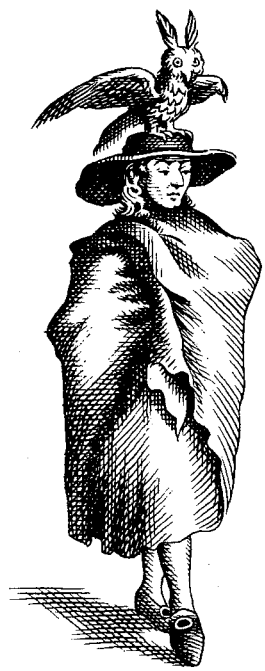
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The Crowd in the French Revolution of 1830

DAVID H. PINKNEY*

ON July 30, 1830, the Parisian journal *Le National* declared, "It is the people who have done everything . . . it is they who have conquered," and from that day to the present the key role of the Parisian crowd in the Revolution of 1830 has been generally accepted. Yet for a century after the event historians of the Revolution paid little attention to the crowd. They looked at the Revolution from above—from the meetings of deputies and journalists, from Auguste Marmont's command post in the Tuileries, from the *Hôtel de Ville,* from the palace at Saint-Cloud. They reported vividly the complexity of motives, fears, and interests of the men in these places, but they viewed the crowd as a unit, almost as an abstraction, with a single set of motives. At their most naïve they saw its interests and aspirations simply

* A professor at the University of Missouri, Mr. Pinkney is the author of *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, N. J., 1958). This article is a revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 28, 1963.

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as reflections of those of the journalists and opposition deputies. A few historians, even among the earliest, suspected that the crowd had grievances and purposes of its own, but not until our own time has this possibility been explored.

Ernest Labrousse's investigations into the economic backgrounds of the developing socialist and labor movements after 1815 established unmistakably that thousands of Parisian workingmen during the depression years of the late 1820's and early 1830's had specific grievances—lack of work, low wages, the high price of bread—that had nothing to do with the constitutional quarrel between king and deputies, nothing to do with the dispute over censorship that alienated printers and journalists from the Polignac ministry.[1] Louis Chevalier gave further identification to the crowd by his delineation of the "classes dangereuses" of Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were the dispossessed, the "nomads" who had crowded into the capital in a period of rapidly expanding population and could find no respectable place in the city's life. Existing on the margin of legality they passed readily over the boundary into crime, undeterred by conventional morality, for they felt no obligation to a society that rejected them. A step took them from individual crime to revolution, a kind of mass expression of resentment against society.[2]

The studies of Labrousse and Chevalier suggested that the revolutionary crowds in Paris of the first half of the nineteenth century were drawn from the economically distressed and from the "classes dangereuses," but they stopped short of proof of this connection. For the Revolution of 1830 one must still ask if the combatants were in fact drawn from these groups. If, indeed, they were, what elements of this miserable, resentful population actually fought? Why were they moved to take up arms while others of their kind were not? Generalizations about the crowd offer no answers to these questions. They can be found only in studying the composition of the crowd and the motives of its individual members.

Georges Lefebvre, George Rudé, and Albert Soboul, in their studies of mass movements in the Revolution of 1789, demonstrated both the possibility and the value of investigating the crowd from below. With them the crowd ceased to be an abstraction. They determined the composition of particular revolutionary crowds, studied the grievances, aspirations, and actions of the crowd's individual members, and created a new understanding

[1] Ernest Labrousse, *Le Mouvement ouvrier et les idées sociales en France de 1815 à la fin du* XIX^e^ *siècle* (Paris, [n.d.]), 30–39, 90–94.

[2] Louis Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du* XIX^e^ *siècle* (Paris, [1958]).

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of the motives and behavior of the crowds in the Revolution and of revolutionary crowds in general.[3]

The composition of the crowd in 1830 was strikingly similar to that of the crowds in the Revolution of 1789. It was not made up of the scum of the capital or of the desperate and the dispossessed; nor did the substantial middle class of business, the professions, and public office have more than a small part in it. Among the 211 dead on the surviving list of the *Commission des Récompenses nationales* and the 1,327 wounded and other combatants who received compensation from the commission, fewer than 300 were laborers and servants, and but 85 came from the professions. Fifty-four were shopkeepers. Nearly 1,000 were artisans and skilled workers. Close to a third of the total were from a few well-established, skilled crafts: 126 carpenters, joiners, and cabinetmakers, 118 stonemasons, 94 shoemakers, 57 locksmiths, 31 jewelrymakers, 28 printers, and 27 tailors.[4] The numerical prominence of some of these occupations in the crowd merely reflected their large numbers in the population of the city. No occupational census exists for 1830, but a record of the occupations of persons who died in Paris in 1831 and the Chamber of Commerce's industrial census in 1846 give some clue to the occupational structure of the city's population. The percentage of printers, shoemakers, jewelrymakers, and tailors among the adult combatants is approximately the same in each case as their percentage in the adult, employed, male population. The percentage of masons among

[3] Georges Lefebvre, "Foules révolutionnaires," *Études sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1954), 271–87; George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (New York, 1959); Albert Soboul, *Les Sans-culottes parisiens en l'An II: Mouvement populaire et gouvernement révolutionnaire 2 juin 1793–9 Thermidor An II* (Paris, 1958).

[4] Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN], F^{1d} III 33, Ministère de l'Intérieur, Commission des Récompenses nationales [hereafter cited as CRN], 2eme État des citoyens tués. . . ; *ibid.*, 34–37, États des sommes payées aux combattants blessés et non blessés. . . . The CRN compiled the names of the dead together with their dates and places of birth, residence, and occupations in two *états*, the first of which is missing from the archives. The "2ème État" includes 211 of the 496 names on the two *états*. In 1840 the names of the dead were inscribed on the Column of July on the *Place de la Bastille;* these names, 504 in all, are printed in the *Bulletin des lois du Royaume de France*, 9th Sér., XXI, No. 746 (July 22, 1840), 79–86. The acceptability of the dead, wounded, and other combatants who received compensation as a representative sample of the whole body of combatants may be questioned. The well to do are probably underrepresented in the last two categories. Financial assistance was intended only for those in need, and some, even among the wounded, did not apply for it; others who applied did not qualify. At the opposite end of the social scale men with police records and fugitives from justice may have feared to ask for assistance, and some illiterates perhaps did not even know how to apply, although the government made a conscientious effort to find all those deserving of help. The dead are subject to fewer reservations as a sample, for no compelling reasons existed to induce either the government or relatives to keep names off the list. The occupational distributions in the two lists—the dead, on the one hand, and the wounded and other combatants, on the other—are strikingly similar, which suggests that the latter list was not seriously affected by omissions. Both compilations may have been distorted by the reluctance of combatants to report themselves, and of survivors and government agents to report others, under any but respectable occupational rubrics even though their connections with them were perhaps remote.

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the adult dead and wounded, however, was more than double, of locksmiths approximately double, and of carpenters, joiners, and cabinetmakers at least a third larger than their percentages in the total population of employed, adult men.[5] Members of these same old, established crafts, so conspicuously active in 1830, usually occupied a large place in the revolutionary crowds in Paris in 1789 to 1795.[6] Their *esprit de corps* and their *frondeur* tradition perhaps encouraged collective violence in 1830.

The records include no category of the unemployed. The rubric of lowest economic status is that of the laborer, and but little above it are the clerks and *garçons* in a variety of enterprises. All of these contributed to the combatants—126 laborers, 79 clerks, 52 *garçons*—although not out of proportion to their large numbers in the city, and even these must not be equated with the scum and the barbarians of Paris.[7] An official of one of the dressing stations set up during the fighting to care for the wounded reported that almost all the combatants whom he saw were honest, laborious workmen, well thought of by their employers,[8] and the report of a committee organized to aid the wounded in the Third *Arrondissement* stated pointedly that anyone who thought that the Revolution was made by "the last class" of the people would be mistaken. The combatants from that district, which included the quarter of Montmartre and the area around the central markets, were craftsmen who owned their own shops, well-paid workers with jobs, and former soldiers.[9] A police report to the *Commission des Récompenses nationales* on the morality of thirty-three claimants for widows pensions who were not legally married showed among them only three "exceptions" to good morals; most of the widows were orderly women who had lived with their men for many years.[10]

Independent compilations of the dead and wounded in two *arrondissements* confirm the important place of skilled craftsmen in the crowd. A registry of payments made to dependents in the Eighth *Arrondissement,* which included the Faubourg Saint-Antoine and the Marais, listed fifty-four men killed in combat. Among them were but three laborers. The

[5] Département de la Seine, *Recherches statistiques sur la ville de Paris et le Département de la Seine* (6 vols., Paris, 1826–60), V, Tableau No. 120, VI, 34, 526, 626; Chambre de Commerce de Paris, *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris . . . pour les années 1847–1848* (Paris, 1850), Pt. 1, 38, Pt. 2, Tableaux généraux Nos. 2C, 2D, 2E, 2G, 2H, 2I, 2K.

[6] Rudé, *Crowd in the French Revolution,* 185, 246–48.

[7] AN, F^{1d} III 33, 2ème État des citoyens tués; *ibid.,* 34–37, État des sommes payées aux combattants; Seine, *Recherches statistiques,* Tableau No. 120.

[8] Victor Crochon, "Souvenirs," MS in Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris [hereafter cited as Bibl. hist. de Paris], Sér. 23, FGms 320–22, II, 881.

[9] Archives du Département de la Seine [hereafter cited as AD, Seine], V^{bis} 287, Commission des Secours pour les Blessés de Juillet, 3e Arrond., Compte rendu.

[10] AN, F^{1c} III 33, Préfet de Police to Président, CRN, June 20, 1831.

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largest occupational groups were six cabinetmakers and joiners, four sawyers, three locksmiths, and two masons.[11] On an early list of fifty-two dead and wounded in the Second *Arrondissement* identified by occupation were seven masons and six locksmiths.[12]

In the so-called "Bourgeois Revolution" of 1830 the middle and upper bourgeoisie were either immune to bullets or absent from the firing line. Immunity is improbable, however, for some bourgeois met their ends as uninvolved bystanders like that *négoçiant filateur* who, the record says, was killed while "out on business" or like the merchant killed "at his window."[13] On the commission's list of dead were one doctor and one teacher but no bankers, no lawyers, no deputies, no publishers or journalists, although another source listed one journalist dead.[14] A few from this class do figure among the wounded and other combatants—four doctors, one lawyer, and eight teachers but no journalists, no publishers, no deputies—and all combined their numbers do not even approach the number of masons or of cabinetmakers alone.[15] The top-hatted bourgeois on the barricade in Ferdinand Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People" scarcely deserves his conspicuous place, certainly not as a symbol of this kind in this perilous spot.

Delacroix would mislead us, too, if we should assume from his painting that women and gamins played a considerable role in the fighting of July. The commission recorded no women dead on its list. At least two were killed, not, however, as combatants but apparently as unlucky spectators.[16] The names of fifty-two women appear on the commission's list of wounded.

[11] AD, Seine, D[3] 1–2, "Morts. Ancien 8[ème] Arr[t]."

[12] "Rapport de M[r]. Sensier . . . commissaire de 2[e] Arrondissement, chargé de constater le nombre de victimes . . . des glorieuses journées des 27, 28 et 29 Juillet 1830," MS in Bibl. hist. de Paris, Sér. 23, FGms 784. The difference between the proportion of immigrants among the activists and their proportion among the total adult population, if any actually exists, is too small to sustain the contention that the crowd was recruited from the nomadic, rejected part of the population. About 67 per cent of the city's population in 1833 was born outside the capital department. Born outside its limits were 76 per cent of the dead and 71 per cent of the wounded on whom this information is available (two-thirds of the total). The first figure should probably be revised upward before it is compared with the last two. The dead and wounded of 1830 were largely adults. The total population, on the other hand, included children, of whom a higher proportion is likely to be native born, and the adult population alone would have a higher proportion of those born outside the department. The lack of statistics of immigrants divided by age groups prevents exact determination of the size of this upward revision. (Louis Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne au* XIX[e] *siècle* [Paris, 1950], 284–85; AN, F[1d] III 33, 2[ème] État des citoyens tués; *ibid.*, 34–37, États des sommes payées aux blessés pensionnés . . . ; États des sommes payées aux blessés pensionnés temporairement. . . .)

[13] AD, Seine, D[3] 1–2, "Morts. Ancien 8[ème] Arr[t]."

[14] AN, F[1d] III 33, 2[ème] État des citoyens tués; AD, Seine, V[bis] 3, CRN, 4[e] Arrond., Dossier Thonux.

[15] AN, F[1d] III 34–37, États des sommes payées aux combattants.

[16] "Rapport de M[r]. Sensier"; AD, Seine, D[3] 1–2, "Morts. Ancien 8[ème] Arr[t]."

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One was reported to have fought the Royal Guard with a kitchen knife, but more commonly the role of women, if they were actively engaged, was in pulling up pavements, throwing stones, and caring for the wounded.[17]

A prefect of police wrote in 1832 that the gamins of the capital, those homeless, lawless urchins of the street, always carried the first stones to the barricades and were always in the forefront of resistance in revolutionary movements, a statement that would seem to justify the prominence that Delacroix gave to his gamin mounting the barricade, a pistol in each hand, side by side with Liberty herself.[18] Yet the presence of the gamin there is as misleading as that of the cravated bourgeois or the bosomy lady. Among the recorded dead were three boys of fourteen years and one of twelve. The twelve-year-old was killed while passing cartridges to his father, a relationship that rules him out of the abandoned youth.[19] On the tables of the wounded and other fighters who received financial assistance were two eight-year-old boys, one of ten years, and sixteen between the ages of twelve and fifteen, a total of nineteen among more than fifteen hundred combatants.[20] Some of these were probably accidental casualties—the two eight-year-olds, almost certainly. Not all the remainder were waifs and urchins. One thirteen-year-old was the son of a building contractor and elector. His brother, just a year older, won the Medal of July for his part in the fighting.[21]

Of the dead and wounded whose ages were recorded, 54 per cent were between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. All of these were born after 1789 and could not have remembered the great days of the Revolution or been moved by any personal experience in it. Indeed, fewer than 5 per cent were old enough to have meaningful personal recollections of the Revolution. On the other hand, more than half were of an age to remember the Empire and to have served in the imperial armies.[22]

Knowing that the crowd was composed largely of men from skilled crafts, reasonably mature in years, makes the question of their motivation in taking up arms not less but more puzzling. The crowds on July 26,

[17] "Rapport de M^r. Sensier"; AD, Seine, V^bis 1, CRN, 4^e Arrond., Dossiers A. Antoine and M. Gabriel; AN, F^9 1155, Combattants de Juillet, Dossier Haeberlet; Raymond Lecuyer, *La Révolution de Juillet . . . : Impresions et récits contemporains* (Paris, [n.d.]), 62, 63, 77, 96, 105.

[18] Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses*, 120.

[19] AN, F^1d III 33, 2^ème État des citoyens tués.

[20] *Ibid.*, 34–37, États des sommes payées aux blessés pensionnés; États des sommes payées aux blessés pensionnés temporairement.

[21] *Ibid.*, 43, CRN, Dossier Barbier.

[22] *Ibid.*, 33, 2^ème État des citoyens tués; *ibid.*, 34–37, États des sommes payées aux blessés pensionnés; États des sommes payées aux blessés pensionnés temporairement.

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the day on which the five ordinances appeared in *Le Moniteur,* were simply random strollers and idle spectators around the *Palais-Royal* and the offices of opposition newspapers. Paris was a city of apartment dwellers, and to escape their cramped and hot quarters Parisians spent much of their leisure time in parks and on the streets. July 26 was a Monday, a holiday for many, and the crowds that day scarcely differed from those that gathered in the center of the city on any hot, summer holiday. They showed little interest in the newly published ordinances. The King and his ministers were confident that the people would be indifferent, and on the twenty-sixth and on the morning of the twenty-seventh the temper of the city sustained their judgment.[23] In the afternoon of the twenty-sixth Armand Carrel, editor of the opposition *Le National,* remarked bitterly to Charles de Rémusat on the peaceful appearance of the streets; he could foresee no general resistance to the ordinances.[24] At a meeting of journalists in the office of *Le National* those who had just come across the city reported that the people were not moving.[25] The next day the Viscount Saint-Chamans, an officer of the Royal Guard, happened to pass the newspaper offices where editors and publishers were defying efforts of police to confiscate their presses for violating the new press ordinance; large crowds had gathered, and he heard some threatening words, but he had seen such crowds in Paris before, and he recalled that they had shouted, but not acted. He expected nothing different this time.[26]

The unconcerned gatherings even on the twenty-sixth did include some groups of men who had well-established connections among themselves and were not simply random concourses of individuals thrown together that day by chance. One such group was the printers, probably the most coherent and articulate body of skilled workers in the city, and they had just acquired a new and significant common grievance. To them alone among the craftsmen and workers of Paris, the five ordinances posed a direct and immediate threat. The first ordinance placed heavy censorship on the publication of newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets, and enforcement of it would close many printing establishments and throw

[23] *Ibid.,* 115 AP, Archives des familles Montholon et Sémonville, "Récit detaillé des entrevues qui eut le duc de Sémonville avec Charles X du 25 juillet au 7 août; *ibid.,* CC 546, Chambre et Cour des Pairs, Testimony of Vicomte de Foucauld, commander, *Gendarmerie royale de Paris,* Nov. 28, 1830; Achille de Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations* (5th ed., 8 vols., Paris, 1860), VIII, 164–65; Louis de Viel-Castel, *Histoire de la Restauration* (20 vols., Paris, 1860–78), XX, 539.

[24] Charles de Rémusat, *Mémoires de ma vie,* ed. Charles H. Pouthas (4 vols., Paris, [c. 1958–60]), II, 316.

[25] Louis Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans* (12th ed., 5 vols., Paris, 1877), I, 181.

[26] Alfred de Saint-Chamans, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1896), 489–90.

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hundreds of printers out of jobs.[27] Printers did not work on Mondays, and on Monday, July 26, as they often did on holidays, they went out beyond the octroi wall to the rustic cafés, where the price of food and wine, free of municipal taxes, was lower than in the city. Here on this day they talked about the ordinances, denounced Charles X, and the majority of them agreed that they would protest the new laws by staying away from work the next day. They tried to stir up the masons, the carpenters, and other workers gathered in the cafés but with no apparent success. The following morning a few of the printers reported for work, but they soon joined their striking colleagues after publishers canceled printing orders and heads of printing establishments closed their shops. Some five thousand aggrieved printing workers now roamed the streets, looking for allies in their protest.[28]

Throughout that day, July 27, the printers mixed in the thick of the increasingly threatening crowds around the *Palais-Royal*. They alone among all the occupational groups in Paris appeared repeatedly in police reports and other testimony of eyewitnesses. About noon some thirty of them provoked a squad of mounted gendarmes on the *Place du Palais-Royal* into charging up a narrow street where they were assailed from above and below by stones and by flower pots. Rémusat's friend Pierre Leroux, one of the publishers of *Le Globe,* encountered a band of printers roaming the streets that afternoon and was alarmed by their threatening appearance. A similar group, probably, ambushed a detachment of cavalry on the Rue de Rohan and pelted it with rocks. A police summary of the growing violence that evening declared that everywhere the leaders of the crowd were heads of printing shops, journalists, and unemployed lawyers and that their followers were their workers.[29]

The printers' role seems to have been principally one of provocation. They did not figure prominently in the serious fighting of the succeeding days. Twenty-eight appear in the *Commission des Récompenses nationale*'s records of dead, wounded, and other combatants—a small showing com-

[27] *Le Moniteur universal* (Paris), July 26, 1830.

[28] Ladvocat, "Note pour Monsieur le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les ouvriers imprimeurs," Sept. 4, 1830, reprinted in Paul Chauvet, *Ouvriers du livre en France de 1789 à la constitution de la Fédération du Livre* (Paris, 1956), 645–46; Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations,* VIII, 204–205; Marie Joseph de Lafayette, *Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du Général Lafayette, publiés par sa famille* (6 vols., Paris, 1837–38), VI, 384.

[29] AN, 149 AP 1, Papiers de Claude Mangin, Préfet de Police, Rapports de police, July 27, 28, 1830; *ibid.,* CC 547, Chambre et Cour des Pairs, Commission de la Chambre des Deputés, Enquête, Sept. 16, 1830; *ibid.,* CC 550, Chambre et Cour des Pairs, Mondar, Officier de Paix, Rapport, July 27, 1830, 1:00 p.m.; AD, Seine, VK[3] 17, Rapport d' "un attaché à la rédaction du Figaro"; *ibid.,* V[bis] 3, CRN, 4[e] Arrond., Dossier Melien; Rémusat, *Mémoires,* ed. Pouthas, II, 322.

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pared with the 118 stonemasons or the 126 carpenters, cabinetmakers, and joiners.[30]

The liberal journalists were another coherent group among the early aimless crowds. The five ordinances at once assaulted their principles and threatened their livelihoods. A number of them met on July 26 in the offices of *Le National* and drew up an inflammatory protest against the King's violation of the charter.[31] The next morning *Le Globe, Le Journal du Commerce, Le National,* and *Le Temps* appeared in defiance of the law. All of them carried the protest, and the last two also printed it on posters. Journalists, printers, and the employees of at least one news dealer distributed copies to cafés, restaurants, and reading rooms in all quarters of Paris, and some of them went about reading the protest aloud to all who would listen and adding their own comments and exhortations.[32]

Except for the journalists' printed protest we do not know what they and the printers said in their incitement of the crowd. The published protest was purely political—a denunciation of the ministry for violation of the charter and an appeal to the Chamber of Deputies to resist the government's illegal actions.[33] The crowds first heard it with surprise and incomprehension. Defense of a charter under which they had neither the right to vote nor the right to hold office was no affair of theirs. One captured combatant, questioned about the charter, identified it as a piece of state-owned property whose revenue the King was trying to appropriate![34] Yet by evening of that day the crowd was hurling bricks and stones at police and soldiers and pillaging arms shops and the next day was in pitched battle with the King's best troops.

The journalists' call for defiance, although couched in political terms, may have been understood as an invitation to protest against economic distress, both present and past, that was easily blamed on the government. In the depression that had afflicted France since 1828 wage rates had fallen generally throughout the country, and unemployment had reached serious

[30] AN, F^{1d} III 33, 2ème État des citoyens tués; *ibid.*, II 34–37, État des sommes payées aux combattants.

[31] Rémusat, *Mémoires,* ed. Pouthas, II, 316; Crochon, "Souvenirs," II, 30–32; Viel-Castel, *Histoire de la Restauration,* XX, 562–66.

[32] Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans,* I, 188; Viel-Castel, *Histoire de la Restauration,* VIII, 205; Anaïs de Raucon Bazin to J. F. Michaud, Aug. 10, 1830, in A. J. de Marnay, *Mémoires secrets et témoinages authentiques: Chute de Charles X . . .* (Paris, 1875), 12–13; Alexandre Mazas, "Mémoires," in Lecuyer, *Révolution de Juillet,* 27; AN, CC 549, Chambre et Cour des Pairs, Mangin to Auguste Jules Polignac, July 27, 1830; AD, Seine, DM^{13} 1, Administration général, Venard to CRN, Feb. 7, 1831; *ibid.*, V^{bis} 1, CRN, 4e Arrond., Dossier Delavier; *Le Globe* (Paris), July 27, 1830.

[33] The text of the protest is reprinted in Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans,* I, 478–80.

[34] *Ibid.*, 188, 202–203; Paul Mantoux, "Patrons et ouvriers en juillet 1830," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine,* III (Sept.–Oct. 1901), 292.

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proportions.[35] Poor harvests in 1827 and 1828 had forced the price of bread in Paris to ominously high levels—to a high of twenty-one sous for a four-livre loaf in May and June 1829.[36] The price had by February 1830 receded to fifteen sous, an amount that the police judged still to be excessive for a workingman's budget.[37] In June 1830 the price of flour on the Paris market again began to rise. On July 16 the price of bread was increased for the first time in eight months, and the police were apprehensive of the popular reaction to the increase.[38] The closing of printing shops and a number of other businesses on July 27 and 28, either for lack of orders or deliberately to add to popular resentment against the government, aggravated existing troubles.[39]

In the July Days some Parisians were unquestionably on the streets to protest against economic distress. A police officer on duty in the garden of the *Palais-Royal* on the afternoon of July 27 reported that men there complained of having no jobs.[40] Viscount de Foucauld, commander of the *Gendarmerie* in the fighting, heard complaints from combatants of the lack of bread.[41] When Alfred de Saint-Chamans, commander of the column sent across Paris to pacify the Faubourg Saint-Antoine on July 28, exhorted the crowd on the *Place de la Bastille* to be calm and to go back to work, a woman shouted that one could not be calm when one lacked money to buy bread or go back to work when shops were closed. Saint-Chamans gave her a five-franc piece, and she began to shout, "Vive le Roi!" a cry that those around her took up while holding out their hands, and they continued it as long as Saint-Chamans had coins to distribute. Had he been given a treasury van instead of artillery pieces to head his column, Saint-Chamans claimed, he could have pacified the Faubourg Saint-Antoine without firing a shot.[42] The people whom he encountered on the *Place de la Bastille* were not, however, combatants, and the willingness to shout "Vive le Roi!" in the hope of receiving five francs did not mean that the shouters were all hungry and about to resort to violence if they failed to get it.

[35] Labrousse, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 30, 37, 90–95; Louis Girard, *Étude comparée des mouvements révolutionnaires en France en 1830, 1848, 1870–71 (1830–1848)* (Paris, [n.d.]), 55–56.
[36] *Ibid.*, 91; AN, F[7] 3883, Bulletin de Paris, 1829.
[37] *Ibid.*, 3884, Bulletin de Paris, Feb. 27, 1830; Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses*, 314.
[38] AN, F[7] 3883, Bulletin de Paris, Nov.–Dec. 1829; *ibid.*, 3884, Bulletin de Paris, Jan.–July 1830.
[39] *Ibid.*, CC 550, "Troubles du Palais-Royal," July 27, 1830; Police report, July 27, 1830, 8:30 p.m.; AD, Seine, V[b1a] 322, CRN, 1[er] Arrond., Dossier Marie; Mantoux, "Patrons et ouvriers," 293–95; Jean-Pierre Aguet, *Les Grèves sous la Monarchie de Juillet* (Geneva, 1954), 3.
[40] AN, CC 550, Monnet, Officier de Paix, Rapport, July 27, 1830, 1:00 p.m.
[41] Mantoux, "Patrons et ouvriers," 294.
[42] Saint-Chamans, *Mémoires*, 495–97; AN, CC 546, Juge d'Instruction, Trib. de 1[e] Instance, Epernay, Testimony of Saint-Chamans, Nov. 16, 1830.

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Among the known combatants, economic grievances did certainly exist, but for only a minority did they provide an acknowledged motive to take up arms. In 1,142 individual dossiers in the archives of the *Commission des Récompenses nationales* and its local committees are but fifty-eight acknowledgments of personal motives for joining the combat of the July Days. Of these fifty-eight only seven persons mentioned economic grievances. Six said that they were unemployed. One of them added that he owed three terms of rent, another that he had had no work "for a long time." One spoke of the "state of misery" to which unemployment had reduced him. One was a printing worker thrown out of his job by the events of July 26 and 27.[43]

If economic distress had been the principal force driving men to revolution, one might logically expect that those in most dire misery would have been in the forefront of the insurrection. The combatants were not, in fact, from the poorest levels of Parisian society but chiefly from skilled and settled occupations not at this time particularly affected by unemployment. One man seems to have been moved by a desire to escape his family responsibilities. The "Widow" Andro reported to the commission that her husband left their lodgings on July 27 and never returned. Three witnesses testified to having seen his body among the dead on the *Pont Notre-Dame,* the scene of heavy fighting on July 28. Two months later the commission learned that this particular "mort pour la liberté" was living in Pacy-sur-Eure in good health.[44]

The secondary place of economic distress in the discernible motivation of the combatants may have been owing to the considerable recovery of the Parisian economy between the nadir of the depression in 1829 and the summer of 1830. Deep misery was not uncommon in the winter of 1829–1830, but the cold weather was neither so intense nor so prolonged as in the preceding year, and a higher level of employment left fewer persons destitute. The price of bread, although still high, was 30 per cent below its top of the preceding year. The building trades, one of the city's largest industries, revived early in the spring, and both resident and migrant workers found jobs. Martin Nadaud, who went to Paris in March 1830 to begin his career as a mason, recorded in his memoirs no shortage of work during that spring and summer. Daily police reports reflected a relaxation of the apprehensions of the preceding year; in the late winter and early spring they occasionally remarked on the tranquillity of the population, and in the succeeding weeks the reports carried scarcely an

[43] *Ibid.*, F^{1d} III 42–47, Dossiers individuels; AD, Seine, V^{bis} 1, 3, 153, 285, 322, CRN, 1er, 4^{e}, 11^{e} Arronds.

[44] AN, F^{1d} III 42, Dossier Andro.

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allusion to the possibility of public disorders. The modest rise in the price of bread in mid-July, which did arouse some official apprehension, actually stirred no popular protest.[45]

Lefebvre, drawing on his knowledge of the behavior of crowds in the Revolution of 1789, suggested that a dramatic event can change an innocent gathering of individuals into a revolutionary crowd. A revolutionary mentality may lie latent below the surface of an apparently random assembly of men and women; then some happening may quickly call it to the surface, giving all a common cause and galvanizing them into a revolutionary force.[46] Louis Blanc and Achille de Vaulabelle, writing a hundred years before Lefebvre, discerned this pattern in the changing complexion of the Parisian crowd of July 1830. The men and women gathered in the garden of the *Palais-Royal* and the nearby streets had at first heard the incitement of the printers and journalists and a few interested bourgeois with indifference. The concentration of gendarmes and troops in the area stirred some hostility, but it found outlet in the throwing of stones, the breaking of street lamps, and one or two isolated attacks on police posts. Disorderly crowds were not unusual in the streets of Paris on warm summer nights, and their presence alone did not presage revolution.[47] Two occurrences opened up the vast storehouse of accumulated resentments against the Bourbons and awakened revolutionary and imperial memories of resistance to them. The first was the appointment to the command of troops charged with enforcing the five ordinances and maintaining order in Paris of Marshal Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont, duke of Ragusa. This man, whose surrender had precipitated the fall of France in 1814, was associated with national humiliation and the shame of two occupations. His name had been adopted into the language as a term of opprobrium. News of his appointment, declared Blanc, discredited the government and turned a printers', journalists', and politicians' quarrel into a popular cause.[48]

[45] *Ibid.*, F[7] 3884, Bulletin de Paris, Jan.–July 1830; Seine, *Recherches statistiques*, V, Tableaux Nos. 2, 3, 4; Martin Nadaud, *Mémoires de Léonard, ançien garçon maçon* (Paris, [c. 1948]), 69–80.

[46] Lefebvre, "Foules révolutionnaires," 277–78.

[47] AN, CC 550, Préfecture de Police, "Rondes du soir," 2[e] Arrond., July 26, 1830; Gronfier, Officier de Paix, Rapport, July 26, 1830; Carton, Officer de Paix, to Chef de la Police municipale, July 26, 1830; Police report, July 27, 1830, 8:30 p.m.; Commissaire de Police, Quartier Sainte-Eustache, to Préfet de Police, July 27, 1830, 9:00 p.m.; *ibid.*, 548, Chambre et Cour des Pairs, Rapport de l'État-Major de la 1[re] Division militaire du 26 au 27 Juillet 1830; 149 AP 1, Papiers de Mangin, Rapports de police, July 28, 1830; *ibid.*, F[7] 4174, Gendarmerie royale de Paris, "Rapport général du 23 au 24 [*sic;* deals with evening of July 26] Juillet 1830"; AD, Seine, 4 AZ 1181, Dons et achats (1921–28), "Précis des événemens aux quels à pris part la troisième régiment de l'infanterie de la garde royale française. . . ," 6–7.

[48] Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans*, I, 188–89; Viel-Castel, *Histoire de la Restauration*, XX, 577; Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations*, VIII, 209–11.

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On the succeeding morning came a second provocative event. The tricolor appeared on one of the towers of Notre Dame, and the ringing of the cathedral's great bell, seldom heard in the capital, at once attracted attention to it. For fifteen years this proscribed revolutionary flag had been seen only surreptitiously in Paris. Now it flew above the city—a popular symbol of the Revolution and the Empire and of successful resistance to the Bourbons and their foreign allies.[49] The appointment of Ragusa had recalled the resentments, the anger, both personal and national, against the Bourbons accumulated over a decade and a half. The tricolor recalled the possibility of defiance and of national triumph over this unpopular house. Now mixed with the earlier cries of "Vive la Charte," "À bas Polignac," and "À bas les ministres" were shouts of "À bas les Bourbons" and "À bas la Royauté." Bands of men roamed the streets destroying the royal arms on shop signs and defacing the royal adjective on public buildings.[50] Rémusat was amazed to discover in these days the "fund of black, patriotic passion that a good part of the population harbored against the Bourbons," and even the contemporary royalist historian, Alfred Nettement, conceded that patriotic resentment against the Bourbons, albeit misguided, was a potent motive behind the popular rising.[51]

In the records of combatants' professed motives, hostility to the Bourbons occupied the most prominent place. Almost half of those who stated why they took up arms said that they were moved by personal grievances against the governments of Louis XVIII and Charles X. Fourteen had been dismissed from the army, the navy, or the civil service or retired on small pensions. Four charged that they were victims of political persecution, two that the government had discriminated against their families, and two that they had been refused jobs in the civil service. Two mentioned resentment against actions of the King's troops on July 27. The second largest category of motives fell within the revolutionary sentiments that Blanc and Vaulabelle saw aroused by the display of the tricolor. Eight men affirmed that they fought for their rights and liberty, and five others professed other ideological motives: to defend the *patrie,* to repulse "assassins of the nation," or to fulfill the duties of a citizen. One said he was a former *Carbonaro.*[52]

[49] Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans,* I, 202; Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations,* VIII, 225.

[50] *Ibid.,* 224, 245–46; AD, Seine, VD^{3} 3, Bala to President, CRN, 12^{e} Arrond., Jan. 25, 1830 [*sic*]; *ibid.,* V^{b1a} 3, CRN, 4^{e} Arrond., Dossier Méline; Bibl. hist. de Paris, Rév. de 1830, carton 23, "Les Trois Glorieuses vues par De Creuze, peintre," MS; Louis Rozet, *Chronique de Juillet 1830* (2 vols., Paris, 1832), I, 161–62.

[51] Philippe Vigier, *La Monarchie de Juillet* (Paris, 1962), 15–16; Alfred Nettement, *Histoire de la Restauration* (8 vols., Paris, 1860–72), VIII, 618.

[52] AN, F^{1d} III 42–47, CRN, Dossiers individuels; AD, Seine, V^{b1a} 1, 3, 153, 285, 322, CRN, 1er, 4^{e}, 11^{e} Arronds.

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Anticlericalism seems to have had no distinct part in moving men to insurrection until the last day of the fighting, July 29. That morning a rumor spread that priests were firing on the people from windows of the archbishop's palace; stirred by this report and perhaps by the rumor that the archbishop had urged adoption of the five ordinances, a crowd of men, women, and children broke into the palace and ransacked it.[53] Early in the afternoon a group of National Guardsmen invaded the Jesuit house at Montrouge, an establishment that had been popularly associated with the alleged occult power of that order in the government of Charles X. They found the place deserted except for a few frightened servants; the priests had hastily fled, leaving behind their dinner on the stove, their places set at the refectory table, and an "excellent wine," which the invaders used, one of them reported, to drink "to the health of Saint-Ignatius."[54]

These anticlerical outbursts were peripheral actions that had no influence on the outcome of the insurrection. Elsewhere, however, the crowd, within two days, had so harassed, unnerved, and finally routed its opponents that on the afternoon of the twenty-ninth the ministry ordered all government forces out of the capital city.

How was this chance assemblage of Parisians able to sustain a prolonged resistance and eventually to defeat the royal army and make itself the master of Paris? Clearly the street fighters were skillfully led. This leadership has been attributed to the National Guard and to students of the *École polytechnique,* but they did little until near the end of the struggle. Many guardsmen donned their uniforms, banned since the dissolution of the guard in 1827, but with few exceptions they took no part in the fighting, being concerned chiefly with guarding their own property.[55] Had the combatants depended on the students of the *École polytechnique* for leadership they surely would have been defeated, for few if any of the students appeared on the scene until the twenty-ninth. A delegation from the school called on Odilon Barrot and on the Marquis de Lafayette in the night of the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth to offer the services of the students, but for their trouble they received only the avuncular advice to

[53] Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations,* VIII, 295; Nettement, *Histoire de la Restauration,* VIII, 662; Bibl. hist. de Paris, Rév. de 1830, carton 23, Guelle to Onzine [Aug. 3, 1830].

[54] "Rapport de M. Martinet," MS in Bibl. hist. de Paris, Rév. de 1830, carton 23.

[55] Odilon Barrot, *Mémoires posthumes* (3d ed., Paris, 1875), 102–103, 106; Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans,* I, 203, 204, 212, 244; Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations,* VIII, 223, 284; AD, Seine, V^{bis} 3, CRN, 4^{e} Arrond., Dossiers Piochelle, Risler, Raveneau; *ibid.,* V^{bis} 285, CRN, 1er Arrond., Dossier Rouget.

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stay in their classrooms.[56] The next day the royal authorities closed the school, and the students dispersed to homes of families and relatives, and there most of them remained until the fighting was over.[57] Of the 250 or more *Polytechniciens* who sympathized with the opposition to Charles X only 61 actually fought in the July Days and those only on the final day after the outcome was largely decided.[58]

Equally dubious is the leadership attributed to students from other schools in Paris and to former members of the *Carbonari*. Law students did appear among the disorderly gatherings around the *Palais-Royal* on July 26 and 27. Some of them later claimed that they had excited the crowds to resistance, and one even testified that he had led a group of youths in attacks on a barracks of the *Gendarmerie,* the *Hôtel de Ville,* and the Tuileries. The casualties among students indicated, however, that few were on the firing line; three student dead appeared on the list of the *Commission des Récompenses nationales* and but seven wounded.[59] Both Blanc and Vaulabelle mention former *Carbonari* among the activists, but the archives yield only one vague allusion to any of them acting within their organization to resist the ordinances. On the government's final compilation of 504 dead are but 2 known to have belonged to the *Carbonari* in 1821–1822, and one other was among the wounded.[60]

The principal source of leadership was probably the armies of the republic and the Empire. The Revolution of 1789 had made warfare a citizen's business, and among Parisians of 1830 were hundreds of veterans of revolutionary and Napoleonic armies. A report prepared for the mayor of the Second *Arrondissement* listed, among forty-three persons who had distinguished themselves in the fighting in that district, five former officers and soldiers cited particularly for their leadership. It mentioned, too, a sergeant on leave from the Eighth Infantry Regiment who took command of men in the streets and showed them how to cope with the

[56] *Ibid.*, VK^3 17, Laubespin to Président, CRN, 12^e Arrond., [n.d.]; Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations,* VIII, 291, n. 1.

[57] *Ibid.*, 291, n. 1, 291–92; Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans,* I, 204–205, 254; AD, Seine, VK^3 17, letters of *Polytechniciens* to CRN, 12^e Arrond., Mar.–Apr. 1831; Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, A A/420, Événements divers, 1830, Chef d'État-major de la Garde nationale de Paris, Ordre No. 2, July 30, 1830.

[58] Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans,* I, 204–205; AD, Seine, VK^3 17, CRN, 12^e Arrond., Rapport, Feb. 15, 1831.

[59] *Ibid.*, V^{bis} 3, CRN, 4^e Arrond., Dossiers Marlhiou, Pesguy; *ibid.*, V^{bis} 153, CRN, 11^e Arrond., Dossier Lagond; *ibid.*, V^{bis} 285, 1er Arrond., Dossier Guyanie; AN, F^{1d} III 33, 2ème État des citoyens tués; *ibid.*, 34–37, État des sommes payées aux combattants.

[60] Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations,* VIII, 219–20, 281–82, 288; Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans,* I, 261; AD, Seine, V^{bis} 3, CRN, 4^e Arrond., Dossier Raveneau; *Bulletin des lois,* 9th Sér., III, No. 104bis (Sept. 29, 1831), 70–78, XXI, No. 746 (July 22, 1840), 79–86; list of *Carbonari* in 1821–1822, compiled by Alan Spitzer, State University of Iowa.

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fire of the troops. The records of the *Commission des Récompenses nationales* reveal the similar role of veterans in other districts of Paris. A doctor who cared for wounded during the days of combat reported that two-thirds of those he treated were veterans.[61]

Sociologists and historians, too, when they attempt to assign causes to violent popular movements of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, have usually associated public disorder with social change. Industrialization and urbanization undermined the authority of traditional elites, created miserable conditions of material existence for large parts of the population, uprooted people from familiar environments, and placed them in strange surroundings where they found no honorable place. Along with these developments came new aspirations for reform or revolution and new alignments of those who shared these aspirations and of those who feared them.[62]

Study of the crowd in the Revolution of 1830 confirms some of these generalizations, but raises significant reservations about others. The issue of an elite discredited by recent social change is scarcely involved because, for Parisians in 1830, the discredit of the Bourbons and their aristocratic adherents was part of the political heritage of the Revolution of 1789, not a recent social development. Miserable conditions of existence and rejection by society were less important in this case than the generalizations would make them. The combatants of 1830 were not men bowed down by the weight of misery. They were largely artisans from the city's established and respected crafts, shopkeepers, and employees. In July 1830 they were touched by no sudden affliction of misery. The printers perhaps foresaw a rapid decline into poverty if the first ordinance were enforced, but most of the combatants were not directly hurt by the ordinances. No more were those who took up arms the uprooted and outcasts of Paris. The structure of Parisian society had not yet been seriously disturbed by industrialization; the factory system had there effected few new alignments among the working population. Loyalties were still to traditional crafts, and the record of the many strikes and labor demonstrations in the months after July 1830 shows that it was within them that Parisian workers ordinarily took collective action.[63] The role of the printers in the Revolution and the

[61] "Rapport de M^r. Sensier"; AD, Seine, V^b1s 1, CRN, 4^e Arrond., Dossiers Chauvin, Des Pommiers des Baumes, Méline; *ibid.*, V^b1s 153, CRN, 11^e Arrond., Dossiers Leger, Lemière, Trepaud, Lejouz, Pieraggi; Crochon, "Souvenirs," 11, 883–84.

[62] I am here much indebted to Charles Tilly for permitting me to read preliminary drafts of his papers, "Reflections on the Revolutions of Paris" (July 1963) and "Queries on Social Change and Political Upheaval in France" (Aug. 1963).

[63] Édouard Dolléans, *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier, 1830–1871* (3d ed., Paris, 1947), 45–47, 52–55; Aguet, *Grèves sous la Monarchie de Juillet*, 14–25.

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large numbers of men from the other old, established crafts—masons, cabinetmakers, and locksmiths, for example—suggest that these traditional occupational affinities had a part in inducing men to resort to force. The aspirations for reform, too, were traditional, not the products of new industrialization. They came from the Revolution of 1789. In taking up arms the combatants of 1830 were expressing personal and public grievances against the Bourbons and hopefully striking a blow for the restoration of vaguely conceived liberties and national prestige popularly associated with the Revolution and the Empire.

The activists and the public disorders they created were not, then, products of massive social changes of the nineteenth century. Rather they were an expression of timeless economic complaints, of loyalties within traditional crafts, of popular resentments against symbols of the old regime, and of eighteenth-century ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

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American Historians and the Military History of the American Revolution

DON HIGGINBOTHAM*

CONSIDERABLE attention has recently been given to changes since the late eighteenth century in historians' interpretations of the American Revolution. Although the political, social, and economic aspects of the subject have been fully re-examined, the shifting points of view on the military side of the Revolution have been largely neglected. The lack of analytical treatment of revolutionary military historiography raises pertinent questions. What has been the place of military history in relation to the over-all study of the American Revolution? Who have been the historians of the War of Independence, and what has been the nature of their contributions? Finally, to what extent have their writings reflected the interests and aims of the historians' particular eras? This essay, in attempting to pursue these topics, suggests that there have been three rather distinct periods in the investigation of the military phase of the Revolution. In the first, extending roughly to the end of the nineteenth century, serious historians and the reading public displayed a keen enthusiasm for the war itself. But in the second, covering approximately the four decades before America's entrance into World War II, revolutionary warfare lost much of its attraction. Only in the third period, beginning about 1945, has the military theme re-entered the mainstream of revolutionary studies.

The rapid growth of American nationalism in the years following independence found expression in historical writings on Washington and his comrades in arms. A nation needs its pantheon of warriors who have performed glorious deeds. In America there was no temple; instead, its Olympians were enshrined in the historical literature. Since American national history was exceedingly short, these necessarily came from the Revolution. In a sense, American history was the Revolution, and the Revolution was envisaged primarily as a war of independence. But if

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nationalism was the moving spirit behind historical works, the prose itself bore witness to the emerging romantic movement in America. The great struggle with the mother country, fraught with epic and dramatic possibilities, abounding in heroes and villains, was a tailor-made subject for writers under the romantic spell.

These eighteenth- and nineteenth-century military historians of the Revolution were mostly gentlemen-scholars—lawyers, businessmen, writers, and clergymen. Like Francis Parkman, John Motley, and William Hickling Prescott (their distinguished contemporaries who wrote about wars outside the United States), revolutionary authors like William Johnson, William Gilmore Simms, and Washington Irving obtained most of their incomes from means other than their endeavors to re-create the American past.[1] Lesser known today are J. T. Headley, a former minister and semiprofessional writer, whose *Washington and His Generals* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1847) appeared in the same year that Rufus Griswold, a literary anthologist, produced his *Washington and the Generals of the American Revolution* . . . (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1847). Extravagantly eulogistic of the commander in chief and his lieutenants, both enjoyed a warm reception, despite their simultaneous publication. The ability of revolutionary military historians to reach the reading public is further borne out by the numerous popular magazines carrying articles on the War of Independence, including the *North American Review,* the *United States Magazine,* the *Southern Literary Messenger, Putnam's Monthly,* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.* Female readers also managed to digest this fare, since *Godey's Lady's Book* occasionally printed stories on "The Battle of Princeton" and similar topics.

Further testimony on the vitality of the War of Independence came from Benson J. Lossing, who traveled up and down the thirteen original states sketching the battlefields of the Revolution. Lossing observed in his *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* that his countrymen were well aware of the exciting events of the nation's first war, a fact he attributed partly to the war's being fought on American soil. The battlefields were "places widely known in their respective districts. . . . Everywhere the memorials of our Revolution are cherished with devotional earnestness. . . ." Lossing, a New Yorker, seemed to have had some apprehension as to how a Yankee traveler in the South in the 1850's would be received, but he soon found that in Dixie,

[1] William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene* . . . (2 vols., Charleston, S. C., 1822); William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Francis Marion* . . . (New York, 1844), *The Life of Nathanael Greene* . . . (New York, 1849), and *South Carolina in the Revolutionary War* . . . (Charleston, S. C., 1853); Washington Irving, *Life of George Washington* (5 vols., New York, 1855–59).

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as well as elsewhere, his desire to preserve the scenes of revolutionary glories aroused nothing but enthusiasm and respect.[2]

In revolutionary literature, the initial importance of the military theme stands out in biography. Washington's various biographers, starting with John Marshall,[3] emphasized the Virginian's role at Trenton and Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown, Valley Forge and Yorktown, in preference to his less spectacular duties as President. The fascination for biography is also revealed in numerous directories or dictionaries of heroic Americans[4] and in the *Library of American Biography* edited by Jared Sparks. Published between 1834 and 1847, Sparks's project included fifteen revolutionary fighting men, Sparks himself writing sketches of Ethan Allen, Benedict Arnold, and Charles Lee.[5] Generally these nineteenth-century biographers wrote in a hero-worshipping vein, most notably in cases where the biographer and his subject were kinsmen.

A strong spirit of partisanship, characterizing studies of Nathanael Greene, Daniel Morgan, Israel Putnam, Joseph Reed, Timothy Pickering, Alexander Hamilton, and others, gave rise to heated controversies carried on in pamphlets, monographs, and publications like *Niles' Weekly Register* and the *North American Review*. William Johnson, Greene's first serious biographer, and an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, lashed out at several officers who had served under the Rhode Island general. While Johnson's aspersions against Count Casimir Pulaski were answered by Paul Bentalow in a brief pamphlet,[6] the jurist's criticisms of Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee drew a book-length rebuttal from Henry Lee, Jr.[7] The well-known historian George Bancroft took sharp issue with William B. Reed, whose biography of his relative Joseph Reed had portrayed that revolutionary officer as a sterling patriot. Bancroft called Joseph Reed "a vacillating trimmer, who in 1774 and 1775 was not heartily in the cause of his country, and who near the end of 1776 meditated defection."[8]

[2] Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1855), I, esp. vii, ix, *et passim*.

[3] John Marshall, *The Life of George Washington* . . . (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1804–1807).

[4] See, e.g., *American Military Biography; Containing the Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Revolution, Who Were Most Distinguished in Achieving Our National Independence* . . . (Cincinnati, 1834); L. Carroll Judson, *The Sages and Heroes of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1852).

[5] *Library of American Biography*, ed. Jared Sparks, 1st Ser. (10 vols., Boston, 1834–38), 2d Ser. (15 vols., New York, 1844–47).

[6] Paul Bentalow, *A Reply to Judge Johnson's Remarks on an Article in the North American Review, Relating to Count Pulaski* (Baltimore, 1826).

[7] Henry Lee, [Jr.], *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas with Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene* (Philadelphia, 1824).

[8] George Bancroft, *Joseph Reed: A Historical Essay* (New York, 1867), 6. A bibliography of studies touching on the Reed controversy is in Ellsworth Eliot, Jr., *The Patriotism of Joseph Reed* (New Haven, Conn., 1943), 35–38.

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Monographs on battles and campaigns were also prevalent. In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, New England historians pre-empted the field, presenting histories that related mainly to their own region. By far the best-covered battle was Bunker Hill, where, as in biographical studies, differing interpretations were noticeable—over the respective contributions of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire troops, and over the respective achievements of Joseph Warren, Israel Putnam, and William Prescott in that famous encounter. So many points about Bunker Hill were unresolved that one writer asked whether historians could really agree that the battle had taken place.[9] Though southern writers were slower to enter the fray, in the 1840's and 1850's a steady stream of volumes appeared from the hands of historians living below the Mason-Dixon line, a phenomenon that was in some measure a manifestation of southern nationalism. Francis L. Hawks, a North Carolina historian, declared that the Revolution had too long been the province of Yankee historians like Bancroft, whom he accused of viewing the South's part in a less than favorable light.[10]

Besides appealing to biographers and military enthusiasts in a narrow sense, the War of Independence attracted men who composed general histories of the American Revolution. The military and political aspects of the Revolution dominate the works of William Gordon, David Ramsay, George Bancroft, Richard Hildreth, and others.[11] (Bancroft, for example, devoted two volumes of his magnum opus to the war years, treating the fighting in detail.) Most of these authors saw a vital connection between the political and military sides of the Revolution: the fight against Britain was waged in behalf of long-held American rights and liberties. Thus the patriot victory in 1783 was more than a feat of arms; it was equally a triumph for political principles.

The sustained interest in the Revolutionary War did not decline in the years following the Civil War. The revolutionary centennial was widely commemorated. In western New York alone, the setting of General John

[9] Charles Hudson, *Doubts concerning the Battle of Bunker Hill* (Boston, 1857).

[10] Francis L. Hawks to David L. Swain, Dec. 18, 1857, David L. Swain Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library. Additional evidence of southern feeling against American history as written by northerners appears in Jay B. Hubbell, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South," in *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd*, ed. David Kelly Jackson (Durham, N. C., 1940), 193–95.

[11] William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (4 vols., London, 1788); David Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1789); George Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent* ("Last Revision," 6 vols., New York, 1888); Richard Hildreth, *History of the United States of America* (6 vols., New York, 1849–52). Hildreth, unlike his contemporaries, failed to emphasize the patriots' concern for principles, but instead stressed economic factors as the chief causes of the Revolution.

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Sullivan's campaign against the Six Nations, there were thirty-one different celebrations in 1879 marking the one hundredth anniversary of that event. The Yorktown victory of 1781 was not only observed at centennial festivities in Virginia, but also at Delmonico's Restaurant in New York City, where a delegation of Frenchmen were the honored guests. In response to the "fervor of the centennial period," Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard University, brought forth his valuable and chiefly military *Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1880). Amidst a new flurry of writings about the conflict with Britain came monographs commemorating the anniversary of famous battles, for instance, Lyman C. Draper's *King's Mountain* . . . (Cincinnati, 1881). Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century American historians and their public, manifesting feelings of romantic nationalism, shared a genuine enthusiasm for the military history of the republic.

Much of this military literature prior to 1900 was turgid and high flown in the manner of nineteenth-century popular nonfiction. Bold and fearless patriots, rushing from their fields and forges, were pictured hurling back the invading hordes of George III. Many biographies and monographs were anecdotal in nature; an author not infrequently stated proudly that his work was based primarily on the testimony of aged men who had actually been present in the battle or campaign in question. Still other early American historians are remembered principally today because they often plagiarized their descriptions of military events from Edmund Burke's *Annual Register*.[12] Nevertheless, some of these histories have suffered too severely from modern criticism. The would-be historian at the end of the eighteenth century and even later witnessed a great desire of the literate public for reading material; it was therefore tempting to meet the demand as quickly as possible by resorting to practices that were hardly uncommon at the time. Furthermore, for some years source materials were generally unavailable except in small quantity. Few of the prominent American officers published their reminiscences: Major General William Heath's *Memoirs* . . . (Boston, 1798) are impersonal and unenlightening; Henry Lee and James Wilkinson produced highly partisan accounts of operations in their own theaters of service.[13] The literary contribution of the continental enlisted man was also meager—unlike that of Johnny Reb or Billy Yank of the Civil War, who seems to have found sufficient time for keeping a diary or notebook. News-

[12] For the most recent discovery of a plagiarized revolutionary history, see R. Kent Newmyer, "Charles Stedman's *History of the American War*," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (July 1958), 924–34.

[13] Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1812); James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1816).

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papers, too, were fewer and less detailed for the Revolution than the Civil War. Nor were there reporters like "Bull Run" Russell or George Alfred Townsend of the 1860's describing and analyzing the War of Independence.

The best possible sources for the American side of the Revolutionary War were the letters of the leading participants. Much has been said about the correspondence of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and the other political leaders of the day, but a number of the military figures were equally capable of writing forceful, eloquent letters, especially Washington and Nathanael Greene. It was, in truth, a great age of letter writing, and not until the correspondence became accessible could histories of the war show marked improvement.

By mid-nineteenth century the task of collecting and editing the documents of the revolutionary era was well under way, owing to the labors of Sparks, Peter Force, R. W. Gibbes, Frank Moore, Lyman Draper, and others.[14] Force, who launched the most ambitious program ever initiated for assembling a comprehensive record of the revolutionary years, planned to offer many volumes dealing with battles, campaigns, and the home front. Unfortunately, Force's massive undertaking was never completed, partly because Secretary of State William L. Marcy cut off funds. Even so, in the volumes brought to fruition, Force amassed a mountain of information on military affairs during 1775–1776; thus his *American Archives* . . . remains the most rewarding single compilation for that period.[15]

With the accumulation of more reliable source materials, many new books came forth to supersede older ones that were marred by myth and legend. Undoubtedly the best accounts were narratives of battles and campaigns. Richard Frothingham's *History of the Siege of Boston* (Boston, 1851), Henry P. Johnston's *Campaign of 1776 around New York* . . . (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1878), David Schenck's *North Carolina, 1780–1781* (Raleigh, N. C., 1889), and William S. Stryker's *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*

[14] *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution,* ed. Jared Sparks (12 vols., Boston, 1829–30); *The Writings of George Washington* . . . , ed. *id.* (12 vols., Boston, 1834–37); *Correspondence of the American Revolution* . . . , ed. *id.* (4 vols., Boston, 1853); *American Archives: Fourth Series* . . . , ed. Peter Force (6 vols., Washington, D. C., 1837–46); *American Archives: Fifth Series* . . . , ed. *id.* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1848–53); *Documentary History of the American Revolution* . . . *Chiefly in South Carolina* . . . , ed. R. W. Gibbes (3 vols., New York, 1853–57); *Diary of the American Revolution from Newspapers and Original Documents,* ed. Frank Moore (2 vols., New York, 1860). Draper, a collector who never turned to editing, deposited his manuscripts in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Too much has been said about the lack of critical standards that are revealed in the works of Sparks and his contemporaries; after all, they were not trained scholars in the modern sense. They deserve to be remembered for their labors in preserving a great storehouse of information that otherwise might not have survived.

[15] The best account of Force's activities is John Spencer Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians* (New York, 1917), 233–302.

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(Boston and New York, 1898) have permanent value. These studies demonstrate, however, that military history was, on the whole, narrowly conceived to mean the field of combat. Captain John Parker mustering his company on Lexington Common, Washington crossing the ice-filled Delaware, Greene struggling through the fog at Germantown, John Sevier smashing Patrick Ferguson at King's Mountain, young Alexander Hamilton seizing a redoubt at Yorktown—all this, and little more, was military history.

Even within their limited framework, the better military histories of the nineteenth century contained certain uniform weaknesses: the lack of attention given the British side of the war; the failure to credit France with a large role in determining the outcome; and the undue praise heaped upon the American militia and regulars by writers such as Bancroft, who declared that the American freeholders had spontaneously "risen up" and had "by their unanimity, courage, and energy, left the British no chance of escape."[16] Of course, nineteenth-century patrician historians were scarcely noted for lofty detachment—Bancroft and Irving were themselves great captains who sensed the smoke and dust of battle in their nostrils.

The twentieth century saw the preponderance in the writing of history swing to professionals. Products of the rising graduate schools, the new historians were trained and disciplined in their craft and supposedly free from the passions of the present. Accusing their predecessors of seeing American history through patriotic glasses, they went on to deny that man's significant activity was restricted to politics and bloodshed. Professor James Harvey Robinson, an influential spokesman, asserted that history was more than "the turning of an enemy's flank"; man was "more than a warrior." According to Robinson, history encompassed the whole range of human endeavor. The household, the school, the market place, and the factory gave a better insight into a nation's culture than the oratory of legislative halls or the hum of army camps.[17]

These currents of historical reorientation found expression in the American revolutionary field, where a strong reaction set in against the long-prevailing concept of the Revolution as a military struggle in defense of political principles. Two new schools of interpretation arose to exert a pro-

[16] Bancroft, *History of the United States,* V, 190. Although the above quotation applies only to the outcome of the Saratoga campaign, it is characteristic of the author's attitude toward the American citizen-soldiers.

[17] James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, 1912), 8–10. An earlier assault upon the study of warfare came in Edward Eggleston's presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1900. Eggleston declared that military history "has been so often repeated, the subject has become trite." ("The New History," *Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1900* [2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1901], I, 41.)

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found influence on revolutionary historiography. First came the imperial school, examining the Revolution within the context of the British colonial system. By concentrating on the origins of the revolt, which they saw as a gradual drifting apart of England and its colonies instead of a British attempt to destroy American liberties, the imperialists diverted attention from the war years.[18] A second group of American historians, the progressive, or socioeconomic, school, took still a different turn. Investigating conditions within the colonies on the eve of conflict, progressive historians maintained that the deepening Anglo-American crisis gave oppressed and dissatisfied elements the opportunity to surge forward in an attempt to make the Revolution a movement for wholesale social and economic reform.[19] Although none of these progressive writers has claimed that the Revolution was merely a class struggle, their intense preoccupation with divisions inside the patriot ranks has led to such a charge. Richard B. Morris has said that "this school of historiography depicts the American Revolution as essentially a civil war among the Whigs. In this version there seems to be little or no room for Tories, for redcoats, or for Hessians."[20]

It would be erroneous to maintain that the subject of war completely escaped the eye of the seminar trained historian. At the time of World War I and after, there was considerable interest in the causes and consequences of wars. But the wars themselves were generally overlooked, except for the diplomatic phases.[21] Progressive historians, for example, went to great lengths to describe the social and economic forces at work in the Revolutionary War years without attempting to show the relationship between those forces and the way the war was fought. There was admittedly some focus upon administrative developments from 1775 to 1783; Louis C. Hatch's *The Administra-*

[18] Among the important writings of the imperial school are George L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754–1765* (New York, 1907); Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1924); Leonard Labaree, *Royal Government in America* (New Haven, Conn., 1930); Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (10 vols. to date, Caldwell, Idaho, and New York, 1936–61).

[19] The major studies of the progressive school include Carl L. Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York* (Madison, Wis., 1909); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776* (New York, 1918); J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, N. J., 1926); Merrill Jensen, *The Articles of Confederation . . .* (Madison, Wis., 1940).

[20] Richard B. Morris, "The Confederation Period and the American Historian," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XIII (Apr. 1956), 152.

[21] The useful studies of diplomacy in the revolutionary era include James B. Perkins, *France in the American Revolution* (Boston, 1911); Paul C. Phillips, *The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Urbana, Ill., 1913); Edward S. Corwin, *French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778* (Princeton, N. J., 1916); Samuel F. Bemis, *Hussey-Cumberland Negotiation and American Independence* (Princeton, N. J., 1931), and *Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (New York, 1935); Weldon A. Brown, *Empire or Independence . . .* (Baton Rouge, La., 1941).

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tion of the American Revolutionary Army (New York, 1904) is the best case in point, though by no means as comprehensive as the title suggests. However, this administrative phenomenon, in the revolutionary field at least, reflects more of a concern for institutional studies, which began before the turn of the century, than it does a conscious effort to broaden the study of warfare.

The handful of academic historians in the revolutionary military field made their most substantial contribution elsewhere by directing attention to the British military effort, an aspect shunned by earlier nationalistic writers. Edward E. Curtis' *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1926) and Troyer S. Anderson's *The Command of the Howe Brothers during the American Revolution* (New York, 1935) may well have been the best of the military monographs to come from professional scholars in the 1920's and 1930's. Claude H. Van Tyne's *The War of Independence . . . [1775–1777]*, a segment of the author's unfinished *History of the Founding of the American Republic,* afforded as much space to British tactical and strategical problems as it gave to the patriots. Van Tyne was one of the first American scholars to use the papers of several prominent British war leaders that were brought to the United States by William L. Clements and eventually deposited in the library bearing his name at the University of Michigan. Van Tyne described these collections as his "greatest resource" and "the Mecca of all historians of the American Revolution."[22] Doubtless a reluctance to wear the unpopular label of military historian deterred a mass march to the Clements Library, which Van Tyne seemed to prophesy. In fact, the isolationism of the 1930's accentuated the declining interest in warfare. Americans considered themselves a peaceful nation, and things military were more than ever thought to be outside the mainstream of American life, a startling conclusion if one is aware that between 1775 and 1900 American army units fought nine thousand distinct battles and skirmishes.[23]

When the professional historian largely abdicated the responsibility to treat warfare as a part of man's experience worthy of serious attention, military history increasingly fell to the popularizer and the debunker. Fortunately, though, sound monographs occasionally came from talented nonprofessionals like Allen French, who, in his *The Day of Concord and Lexington . . .*, frankly deplored the historical determinism of the imperialist and progressive schools: "In place of the old descriptions of battles, of the prominence once given to kings, statesmen, and civilian or military heroes, history now

[22] Claude H. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence . . . [1775–1777]* (Boston, 1929), viii.
[23] Quincy Wright, *A Study of War* (2 vols., Chicago, 1942), II, 687.

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occupies itself with economic and social conditions, and sometimes seems to regard happenings as mere accidents, to be allowed as little space as possible."[24]

In fact, as Louis Morton has noted, the field of serious military history was primarily the preserve of the military profession from 1900 until World War II.[25] To see how the military writers treated the War of Independence, we must look at the study that was first in time and first in influence: Emory Upton's *The Military Policy of the United States since 1775* (Washington, D. C., 1904). A brevet major general in the Union Army, Upton subsequently went abroad to examine the operation of Asian and European military establishments and returned to write a scathing attack on American military policy, which he declared had always been too little and too late. In every war, beginning with the Revolution, America had suffered heavy losses in men and materiél and at times had courted disaster because of meager forethought and organizational planning. Since the American system, or lack of a system, had begun in the War of Independence, Upton singled out this struggle for his harshest treatment. Upton died in 1881, and his manuscript remained in the War Department's files until 1904, when it was resurrected and published on the order of Secretary of War Elihu Root.

According to Upton and the numerous officer-historians he influenced, the paramount mistake of the revolutionary fathers was their failure to establish a large regular army, enlisted on a long-term basis. In their books and articles, Upton's disciples portrayed the contest with England as mainly a comedy of errors—with the American citizen-soldiers, mostly militia or short-term enlistees, marching out to battle, only to turn and run after a redcoat volley or at the sight of shining bayonets. The authors of one *R.O.T.C. Manual* went so far as to imply that had Congress early in the war adopted an effective conscript system and built a sizable force of seasoned continentals, America might have achieved victory over Britain rather easily! As the *Manual* put it, "For seven years a little handful of British troops held a nation of over three million people in subjection."[26] Frederick L. Huidekoper, founder of the Army League and possibly the most prolific military writer from 1900 to 1920, called the American revolutionary performance so dismal that not a single positive lesson could be learned from reviewing the clash of arms between the rebels and redcoats.

[24] Allen French, *The Day of Concord and Lexington* . . . (Boston, 1925), 1. French's writings also include *The Taking of Ticonderoga* . . . (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), *General Gage's Informers* . . . (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1932), *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), and *Historic Concord* . . . (Cambridge, Mass., 1942).

[25] Louis Morton, "The Historian and the Study of War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII (Mar. 1962), 600.

[26] *R.O.T.C. Manual: Basic Course for All Arms* (Washington, D. C., 1933), 26.

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Despite what Fourth of July orators and writers of Bancroft's day might say, Americans themselves had exceedingly little to do with the outcome of the Revolutionary War. Success for the patriots was explained by timely French aid and costly British mistakes.[27]

These indictments soon found their way into books by nonmilitary authors. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, citing General Upton, asserted that "When the [revolutionary] struggle began a great crowd of patriotic volunteers rushed to the scene of excitement, but as soon as they got a thorough taste of bloodshed and death, masses of them showed a remarkable affection for their homes and safety."[28]

The attitude of the military profession toward the War of Independence reflected the army's age-old complaint about our unpreparedness at the advent of all American wars, although this feeling reached an all-time intensity in the 1930's as American officers tried to awaken the country to the dangers from the totalitarian states. Yet in using our revolutionary experience to make a valid point about preparedness, these officer-historians failed to present a balanced account of the struggle for independence. For example, American accomplishments with the thin skirmish line and partisan tactics, both positive contributions to the art of war, were purposely neglected or went unobserved.[29] Thus to the military writer the Revolutionary War became a subject for condemnation; to the professional historian, caught up in all-important social and economic forces, military events were somewhat beneath his dignity, belonging to the realm of drama, heroic legend, and poetry.[30]

[27] Frederick L. Huidekoper, *The Military Unpreparedness of the United States: A History of American Land Forces from Colonial Times until June 1, 1915* (New York, 1915), 41–42. For other examples of the military profession's interpretation, see Henry B. Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution* (rev. ed., New York, 1904); Matthew Forney Steele, *American Campaigns* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1909); William H. Carter, *The American Army* (Indianapolis, 1915); Leonard Wood, *America's Duty as Shown by Our Military History: Its Facts and Its Fallacies* (Chicago, 1921); James E. Edmonds, *Fighting Fools* (New York, 1938); George F. Eliot, *The Ramparts We Watch: A Study of the Problems of American National Defense* (New York, 1938); John McAuley Palmer, *America in Arms: The Experience of the United States with Military Organization* (New Haven, Conn., 1941); William A. Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army* (rev. ed., New York, 1942).

[28] Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols. in 1, New York, 1930), I, 273–74.

[29] Upton himself mentioned the American victory at King's Mountain and the guerrilla raids of Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion, but he offered no comment on the value of backwoods fighting. (Upton, *Military Policy*, 44.) Upton's fifteen "Lessons of the Revolution" dealt almost entirely with the absence of a permanent standing army. (*Ibid.*, 66–67.) For a recent account of Upton's impact on the military profession, see Russell F. Weigley, *Toward an American Army: Military Thought from Washington to Marshall* (New York, 1962), 100–26 *et passim*.

[30] Actually, as Lester Cappon has pointed out, there was a general decline in colonial and revolutionary studies in the 1930's, partly at least because of an increasing preoccupation with the depression and the darkening international scene. ("The Colonial Period Reexamined,"

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The impact of World War II has altered our thinking. Academic historians are no longer confident that wars can be forgotten or ignored. Ours has been called a military age: a war hero has occupied the White House; a large proportion of national expenditures is directed toward defense; generals and admirals occupy high posts in the councils of government. We now recognize that military phenomena are a part of American life—that they have always been so. Previous historians attentive to the broad sweep of American civilization (here Vernon Parrington comes to mind) expressed scant concern for the trends and principles that have guided military affairs. In contrast, there appeared in 1958 the first volume of Daniel Boorstin's appraisal of the American experience, which the publisher hailed as "the first major reinterpretation of American history since Turner, Parrington, and Beard." In a section entitled "A Nation of Minute Men," Boorstin contended that colonial methods of warfare, reflecting New World environmental factors, had exerted a profound influence in shaping our later military traditions.[31] Moreover, as editor of the "Chicago History of American Civilization" series, Boorstin has scheduled volumes on the American wars. In justifying this decision, Boorstin remarked that "We, like other peoples, have been distinguished as much by how we have fought as by what we have fought for."[32]

This growing preoccupation with warfare is evident today in the investigation of all periods of American history. In the area of the Revolution, it is manifested in the excellent synthetic histories by John C. Miller, John R. Alden, Richard B. Morris, and in a splendid documentary work edited by Richard B. Morris and Henry Steele Commager.[33] Alden, publishing in the "New American Nation Series," was particularly alive to the fact that his extended discussions of strategy, logistics, and recruitment separated him from the pre-World War II generation of revolutionary scholars. In the preface he wrote: "It will be observed that something like one-half of this volume is devoted to warfare. No apology is offered for emphasizing things military. They deserve in this volume no less attention than they have received."[34]

in *Research Opportunities in American Cultural History,* ed. John Francis McDermott [Lexington, Ky., 1961], 10–12.)

[31] Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1958), 345–72.

[32] "Editor's Preface," in Howard H. Peckham, *The War for Independence: A Military History* (Chicago, 1958), vii.

[33] John C. Miller, *Triumph of Freedom, 1775–1783* (Boston, 1948); John R. Alden, *The American Revolution, 1775–1783* (New York, 1954); Richard B. Morris, *The American Revolution: A Short History* (Princeton, N. J., 1955); *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants,* ed. *id.* and Henry Steele Commager (2 vols., Indianapolis and New York, 1958).

[34] Alden, *American Revolution,* xvii.

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In addition to these general studies of the Revolution, our best military histories have come in the post-World War II years. The procession began with Willard M. Wallace's *Appeal to Arms* . . . (New York, 1951), the first comprehensive treatment of revolutionary warfare since 1911 (when Colonel Francis Vinton Greene produced a useful book, even though he displayed the professional soldier's obsession with preparedness as his title indicates: *The Revolutionary War and the Military Policy of the United States* [New York, 1911]). Lately we have benefited from Lynn Montross' *Rag, Tag and Bobtail: The Story of the American Revolutionary Army* (New York, 1952), George F. Scheer's and Hugh F. Rankin's *Rebels and Redcoats* (Cleveland, 1957), and Howard H. Peckham's *The War for Independence: A Military History*. These accounts, along with Christopher Ward's *The War of the Revolution,* edited by John R. Alden (2 vols., New York, 1952), have superseded the older narratives of the War of Independence.

Wesley Frank Craven has noted that the weight of recent works on the Revolution, "whether viewed quantitatively or qualitatively, falls in the general category of biography."[35] To be sure, the statement holds true for the Revolution's military figures as well as its civilian leaders. Fresh biographies of Washington, Thomas Gage, Charles Lee, William Lee Davidson, Thomas Mifflin, Benedict Arnold, William R. Davie, Joseph Reed, George Rogers Clark, Henry Knox, John Glover, Nathanael Greene, Daniel Morgan, John Sullivan, and Philip Schuyler have made their appearance, along with several key naval biographies, including a Pulitzer Prize-winning account of John Paul Jones by Samuel Eliot Morison.[36] Very likely this attention to

[35] Wesley Frank Craven, "The Revolutionary Era," in *The Reconstruction of American History,* ed. John Higham (New York, 1962), 56.

[36] Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography* (6 vols., New York, 1948–54); Curtis Nettels, *George Washington and American Independence* (Boston, 1951); Marcus Cunliffe, *George Washington: Man and Monument* (Boston, 1958); John R. Alden, *General Gage in America: Being Principally a History of His Role in the American Revolution* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948), and *General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot?* (Baton Rouge, La., 1951); Chalmers G. Davidson, *Piedmont Partisan: The Life and Times of Brigadier General William Lee Davidson* (Davidson, N. C., 1951); Kenneth Rossman, *Thomas Mifflin and the Politics of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1952); James T. Flexner, *The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John André* (New York, 1953); Willard M. Wallace, *Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold* (New York, 1954); Blackwell P. Robinson, *William R. Davie* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1957); John F. Roche, *Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution* (New York, 1957); John Bakeless, *Background to Glory: The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Philadelphia and New York, 1957); North Callahan, *Henry Knox: General Washington's General* (New York, 1958); George A. Billias, *General John Glover and His Marblehead Mariners* (New York, 1960); Theodore Thayer, *Nathanael Greene: Strategist of the American Revolution* (New York, 1960); North Callahan, *Daniel Morgan: Ranger of the Revolution* (New York, 1961); Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1961); Charles P. Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York, 1961); Don R. Gerlach, *Philip Schuyler and the American Revolution in New York, 1733–1777* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1964); Samuel Eliot Morison, *John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography* (Boston, 1959). A recent addition to this literature is *George Washington's Generals,* ed. George Athan Billias

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individual men underscores our disenchantment with the deterministic orientation of an earlier period. Though specialized works have been few in number, certain older monographs have stood the test of time remarkably well. Accounts of such traditional fare as battles and campaigns, for the most part, are not likely to need redoing, especially those dealing with the war in the North.

Generally, what distinguishes these newer contributions from those of previous writers? First, the current offerings are based on intensive research in manuscript sources, many of which have passed into institutional care in this century. Second, contemporary students have demonstrated that the legitimate framework of military history encompasses far more than the bayonet charge and the well-aimed volley. They have pointed to the relationship between battle front and home front by scrutinizing such subjects as supply, inflation, and civil-military relations. Third, the new literature has been characterized by a critical and complex attitude toward the war. Flag-waving accounts that praise the American military genius and ignore American failings are scarcely evident, except from an occasional popularizer. On the other hand, the view of the military profession, damning American warfare and attributing the outcome almost solely to French intervention and British blunders, has also lost much of its luster.

Of course French support was of the first magnitude and was probably imperative for total victory; British bungling, in London and in America, did afford the patriots opportune relief several times, a point long acknowledged, but brilliantly reinforced by William B. Willcox's researches on British strategy with reference to Sir Henry Clinton.[37] Even so, today we have a fuller appreciation of the American military performance. Certain stock criticisms of American conduct—failure to establish a large standing army, inability to provide effective supply services, and frequency of desertions—seem less damaging now; for we are increasingly aware that armies are but projections of the societies from which they spring. It may be more

(New York, 1964), which contains interpretive sketches of Washington, Lee, Schuyler, Gates, Greene, Sullivan, Arnold, Lincoln, Lafayette, Knox, Wayne, and Morgan—each written by a different historian.

[37] William B. Willcox, "Rhode Island in British Strategy, 1780–1781," *Journal of Modern History,* XVII (Dec. 1945), 304–31, "British Strategy in America, 1778," *ibid.,* XIX (June 1947), 97–121, "The British Road to Yorktown: A Study in Divided Command," *American Historical Review,* LII (Oct. 1946), 1–35, "Why Did the British Lose the American Revolution?" *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review,* LXII (Summer 1956), 317–24, "Biography and the Problem of the Unconscious: A Case Study," *ibid.,* LXVIII (Spring 1962), 101–105, "Too Many Cooks: British Planning before Saratoga," *Journal of British Studies,* II (Nov. 1962), 56–90, *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns,* ed. *id.* (New Haven, Conn., 1954), *Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence* (New York, 1964), *id.* and Frederick Wyatt, "Sir Henry Clinton: A Psychological Exploration in History," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., XVI (Jan. 1959), 3–26.

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significant that Washington finally persuaded Congress to extend the length of enlistments, despite the colonial tradition against standing armies; that the supply services functioned as well as they did, despite the limited machinery of the infant state and continental governments; and that many other soldiers did not desert, despite their being property owning family men, whose fields went untilled and whose women and children were not infrequent prey for Tory marauders. We now recognize, moreover, that the untrained militia or short-term enlistees—the very men condemned by army writers a few decades ago—could be exceedingly valuable if not asked to stand in open battle against British regulars; when screened by a forest or given other advantages of the New World's wilderness terrain, they often revealed themselves as marksmen of high merit. On this last point we have gained perspective from the post-1945 colonial wars. In these contests, African and Asian colonials have employed guerrilla tactics with notable success, tying down and rendering almost helpless large professional armies operating in an unfamiliar environment. These activities, high-lighted by night assaults and mobile operations, were especially successful against the French in Indochina and are now a serious problem for Americans in the same area.[38]

This was the kind of warfare that American revolutionary soldiers knew best; in the Saratoga campaign and later in the South they demonstrated it with telling results. Indeed, John R. Alden, Howard H. Peckham, and two English scholars, Esmond Wright and Eric Robson, have strongly suggested that British problems of communication and transportation, plus fighting in a strange environment against opponents who often invented their own rules of warfare, were so vast that even without formal French intervention Americans might have kept Britain from emerging triumphant.[39]

[38] A growing awareness among scholars of the significance of guerrilla warfare may be seen in a number of studies, which include John K. Mahon, "Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare, 1676–1794," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLV (Sept. 1958), 254–75; Joseph P. Kutger, "Irregular Warfare in Transition," *Military Affairs,* XXIV (Fall 1960), 113–23; Jac Weller, "The Irregular War in the South," *ibid.,* 124–36; *Irregulars, Partisans, Guerrillas,* ed. Irvin R. Blacker (New York, 1954); Otto Heilbrunn, *Partisan Warfare* (New York, 1962); Peter Paret and John W. Shy, *Guerrillas in the 1960's* (New York, 1962); *The Guerrilla and How to Fight Him,* ed. T. N. Greene (New York, 1962).

[39] Alden, *American Revolution,* 212; Peckham, *War for Independence,* 202; Esmond Wright, *Fabric of Freedom, 1763–1800* (New York, 1961), 121–36; Eric Robson, *The American Revolution in Its Political and Military Aspects, 1763–1783* (London, 1955), 93–174, and "British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth Century: The Effect of American Conditions," *Army Quarterly,* LXII (No. 2, 1950), 209–22. British writers at the beginning of this century devoted considerable attention to the American Revolution, including its military phase. The most important works were those of W. E. H. Lecky, *The American Revolution, 1763–1783,* ed. J. A. Woodburn (New York, 1898); George O. Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (4 vols., New York, 1899–1907); John W. Fortesque, *History of the British Army* (13 vols., New York, 1899–1930). It is gratifying to observe that lately there has been a revival of interest in the military side of the Revolution among such British scholars as Wright, Robson, and Marcus Cunliffe whose writings have been cited previously in this

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No one can safely predict how long the military theme will retain its position as a major element in our historical fabric. But no doubt the cold war will keep martial considerations before us. Possibly, too, the rise in the last decade or so of the neoconservative school of interpretation may indirectly stimulate interest in the War of Independence. The neoconservatives have seriously challenged certain broad assumptions of the progressive school. In substance, they have found a high degree of unity among the patriots who, according to the neoconservatives, already possessed substantial freedoms in a society where property was widely distributed. By the neoconservatives' minimizing the differences between the patriots, the Revolution appears to have been less an internal struggle and more an actual war than the progressive generation seemed disposed to admit.[40]

In conclusion, a suggestion may be in order. We must avoid a reversion to the dry bones of "drum and bugle" history. We should, as we have already begun to do, regard things military within the context of society as a whole. Or perhaps to sharpen the point, we should eschew the notion of warfare as something distinct or compartmentalized from other segments of the Revolution. One illustration will suffice to show how military factors may help resolve broad problems about the Revolution. Robert E. Brown and Charles S. Grant, who have been classified with the neoconservative school, state that the wide distribution of voting rights in Massachusetts and Connecticut, respectively, made for considerable democracy in early America.[41] But is it not equally true that there are other avenues to an exploration of colonial democracy, one of them through military ideas and practices?

article. The most recent contributions from a British author are Piers Mackesy, "British Strategy in the War of American Independence," *Yale Review*, LII (Summer 1963), 539–57, and *The War for America, 1775–1783* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

[40] Some neoconservative writers have also been critical of the findings of the imperialist school, especially the latter's contention that the American patriots exaggerated their devotion to well-established principles. Generally, the neoconservatives have denied that American opposition to British taxation measures stemmed from simple economic motives or a desire to rid themselves of the mother country's jurisdiction. In these recent studies, American concern over the loss of constitutional rights is given sharp focus. The major publications of this new school of interpretation include Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty* (New York, 1953); Daniel Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago, 1953); Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1953); Edmund S. Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic* (Chicago, 1956); Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* . . . (New York, 1955); Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691–1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955), and *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution"* (Princeton, N. J., 1956); Forrest McDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958); Bernhard Knollenberg, *Origin of the American Revolution: 1759–1766* (New York, 1960); Carl Ubbelohde, *The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1960); Charles S. Grant, *Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent* (New York, 1961); and other specialized studies of individual colony-states too numerous to mention here.

[41] Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy;* Grant, *Democracy in . . . Kent.*

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What provocative questions about American society arise when we learn that an obscure Virginia frontiersman-farmer named Daniel Morgan entered the continental army as a captain and emerged from it a brigadier general; that numerous American officers avoided the customary lash as a form of punishment; and that many officers fraternized with their enlisted men and discussed the issues of the war with them? The Revolution was many things, and its military dimension should ever remain an integral part of the whole.

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Spoils of the Bank War: Political Bias in the Selection of Pet Banks

FRANK OTTO GATELL*

DESPITE the attention historians lavish on the Bank War of the 1830's, pet banking remains almost untouched.[1] Once the deposits left Nicholas Biddle's hands in 1833, there is a partial gap extending to Martin Van Buren's subtreasury proposal of four years later. In surveys of American banking and finance pet banks receive brief mention, with material sometimes lifted bodily from previous efforts. Even monographs on state banking before the National Banking Act of 1863 neglect details concerning the deposit or pet banks, and some studies do not broach the issue either as finance or politics. (Bray Hammond's recent massive work *Banks and Politics* continues in the traditional vein with regard to pet banks. He identifies few of them by name and analyzes but a small number in terms of "Banks and Politics.")[2]

The experiment of deposit banking[3] was President Jackson's reply to the centralization of a national bank. While some Jacksonians believed in the necessity and political morality of a system geared to state banking, the party had its share of manipulators ready to profit by the bank question. The deposit system, seen from Washington, was a financial *modus operandi.*

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[1] One current exception is Harry N. Scheiber, "The Pet Banks in Jacksonian Politics and Finance, 1833–1841," *Journal of Economic History,* XXIII (June 1963), 196–214. He argues against a simple "political bias" interpretation, citing several instances where the stereotype apparently does not apply, but leaves the issue unresolved: "No definitive resolution is attempted here, but the cases that have been noted . . . suggest the need for close study of the political affiliations of these banks on a state-by-state basis" (p. 212). The Scheiber article begins: "In September 1833, Andrew Jackson issued an executive order ending deposit of Federal funds in the Bank of the United States." There was no executive order. Only the Secretary of the Treasury had statutory control over the location of government deposits. Thus Jackson had to elevate his uncertain Secretary, Louis McLane, to the State Department, and then remove McLane's balky replacement, William J. Duane, before Roger Taney agreed to take the Treasury portfolio and shift the deposits.

[2] Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1957).

[3] Actually it was not an innovation, since, after the demise of the first national bank in 1811, the Treasury used selected state-chartered institutions as depositories. Even after 1816, and the charter of the Second Bank, deposits went to several state banks in areas that had no Bank of the United States branch.

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To the state banks it meant an opportunity for profit, worth, for example, from twenty to thirty thousand a year to the Baltimore pet banker.[4] Was the dispensation of this largesse to become merely an extension of the spoils policy? With the Bank of the United States "rotated" out of office, would deserving Democratic banks claim their rewards?

We know the "philosophy" of selection on high authority. Amos Kendall, the gray eminence of the "Kitchen Cabinet" and the man sent by Jackson in the summer of 1833 to conduct preliminary negotiations with bankers from Baltimore to Boston, documented it for us. When the Democratic boss of Connecticut requested guidelines for bank selection, Kendall confided that "those which are in hands politically friendly will be preferred." Should there be no friendly bank in the city, an institution controlled by "opposition men whose feelings are liberal" would have to do.[5] While a purely Jacksonian pet banking structure did not emerge from the first round of selections, political considerations (the choice of "friendly" as opposed to "liberal opposition" bankers) became increasingly important in subsequent selections.

Deposit banking, in its phase of complete executive control, proved short-lived. In June 1836, Congress, over administration protests, passed a deposit act that curtailed executive discretion.[6] Because of the law's limitations on the amount of deposits a bank could hold, the number of pets multiplied from thirty-five to ninety-six. For several reasons, I have investigated closely only those named before the Deposit Act of 1836. After that, the Secretary of the Treasury no longer fully controlled either policy or administration. Secretary Levi Woodbury had to explain to irate Democrats that several "enemy" banks in Ohio began receiving deposits after 1836 because there were not enough friendly institutions available in that state.[7] Also, while the pet system limped on, suspension of specie payments in 1837 broke the government contracts, and the Democrats discarded deposit banking as policy in favor of the independent treasury. Finally, there remains the simple matter of manageability. Intensive scrutiny of close to a hundred banks

[4] John P. Kennedy, MS Journal, Dec. 11, 21, 1833, John P. Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute Library.

[5] Kendall to John M. Niles, Oct. 2, 1833, John M. Niles Papers, Connecticut Historical Society. Thirty years before, responding to an application from the Bank of Baltimore, President Jefferson pondered the political advantages to Republicanism of a decentralized deposit banks system: "It is certainly for the public good to keep all the Banks competitors for our favors, by a judicious distribution of them, and thus to engage the individuals who belong to them in the support of the reformed order of things, or at least in an acquiescence under it." (Jefferson to Albert Gallatin, Oct. 7, 1802, in *Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford [12 vols., New York, 1904–1905], IX, 395–96.)

[6] 5 US Statutes at Large 52.

[7] William Allen *et al.* to [Woodbury], Oct. 21, 1836, William Allen Papers, Library of Congress; Elijah Hayward to Woodbury, Dec. 5, 1836, Woodbury to Hayward (copy), Dec. 20, 1836, Levi Woodbury Papers, Library of Congress.

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would turn any historian into an antibanking Locofoco. The thirty-five banks chosen between 1833 and 1836 include the several types of banks then in existence in the United States and provide ample basis for generalization.

The key to successful implementation of a pet banking system lay in the major eastern seaboard cities. In August 1833 Kendall ventured out on his preliminary survey. From Maryland to New England he received assurances from enough eager and apparently solid banks to answer Jackson's needs.[8] The first selections, announced a month later, listed one bank for Baltimore, one for Philadelphia, three for New York, and two for Boston. These seven institutions represented the vanguard of the ninety-odd that followed.[9]

The Baltimore pet, the Union Bank of Maryland, has received more attention than any other pet bank, but the two major accounts are not entirely satisfactory. Carl Swisher's life of Roger Taney[10] gives its subject the benefit of too many doubts; Bray Hammond's anti-Jacksonian *tour de force majeure* never gives Taney a chance.

By the time of the Bank War, Thomas Ellicott, president of the Union Bank and personal friend of Taney, had become an enemy of the Bank of the United States.[11] Through Taney, his former counsel and now Jackson's Attorney General, Ellicott had a good opportunity to foster pro-state bank opinions on a more than receptive President Jackson, giving Ellicott a good standing with the administration. Before he reached Baltimore, Kendall informed Ellicott of his travel plans.[12] While Kendall negotiated with other Baltimore banks, Ellicott clearly had the inside track, and he kept it. When the time came to choose a pet for Baltimore, Taney had been transferred

[8] The myth persists that the state banks were afraid to accept the deposits. It began with Kendall, who dramatized the importance of his scouting mission by spinning a yarn of balky banks enlisted by a persuasive negotiator. Bray Hammond accepts this account: "But the state banks, though they still wanted the deposits as much as ever, grew suddenly shy of Andrew Jackson . . . and were afraid to touch them." (Hammond, *Banks and Politics*, 412–13.) This was not so. Only in Boston did most banks decline negotiation, but they were far from fearful. In fact, many preliminary requests for deposit bank status came to the Treasury during the spring and summer of 1833. It is impossible to date the first, since the Department's files before March 1833 were destroyed by fire, but many banks anticipated the official announcement of removal and offered their services. (See the chronologically arranged volume of Letters from Banks, 1833–34, Treasury Department Files, National Archives [hereafter cited as TD/NA]. Some earlier feelers have been preserved in such private papers as, for example, Martin Gordon to Louis McLane, Dec. 21, 1832, Andrew Jackson Papers, Library of Congress.)

[9] Washington *Globe*, Sept. 27, 1833. The following sections will also deal with subsequent selections in those states.

[10] Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1935).

[11] See especially his acid letters to the Baltimore Bank of the United States branch: Ellicott to John White, Feb. 10, 1825, June 13, 1827, John White Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[12] Kendall to Ellicott, July 26, 1833, Roger B. Taney Papers, Library of Congress.

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to the Treasury Department. Rushed into service to remove the federal deposits when William J. Duane proved perversely independent, Taney now wielded the effective power of selection.

Despite claims to the contrary, Jackson merely ratified Taney's choice. The President's knowledge of the Baltimore banking situation had come from Ellicott and Taney, and his confidence in Taney made the selection automatic. Ellicott's role in supporting removal made it almost certain that the Union Bank would become the original deposit or pet bank. Taney knew the bank, and he knew Ellicott. Everything pointed to a close, smoothly functioning relationship between the government and the Union Bank. Instead, the connection proved a nightmare, and within a few days Taney doubtless wished that he had seriously considered alternative depositories.[13]

The initial troubles arose over Ellicott's hasty use of the Treasury transfer drafts, which were to be held as protection against possible Bank of the United States demands on state banks. Ellicott presented the drafts almost as soon as he got them and touched off a series of recriminatory exchanges with his friend, the Secretary. Taney became increasingly angry at Ellicott, and perhaps at himself for having been too trusting. The anger approached panic in March 1834 when several small Baltimore banks failed and details of Ellicott's speculations involving one of the fallen banks became known. Ellicott rushed emissaries to Washington, demanding help, and Taney promised to support him fully—even to the extent of transferring government funds from other cities, despite the political dangers involved.[14] As Kendall put it, though banks might fall all around, "if the 'Pets' begin to go," anything might happen. The Union Bank must stand, even amidst ruin.[15]

This crisis in Baltimore banking ended all hope of keeping Maryland banking and politics relatively separate. Opposition politicians demanded investigations, hoping to find Jacksonian wrongdoing. Henry Clay accused Taney of owning large amounts of Union Bank stock. The Secretary had to report to the Senate that he had held shares worth about five thousand dollars on removal day and had made no new purchases since 1831. All in all, it was a disappointing harvest for Clay.[16]

[13] Kendall to Jackson, Aug. 2, 3, 1833, in *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* ed. John S. Bassett (7 vols., Washington, D. C., 1926–35), V, 145–46; Ellicott to Kendall, Aug. 1, 2, 1833, *Select Committee: Agent—Deposite Banks,* 24 Cong., 2 sess., House of Representatives, Reports of Committees, No. 193 (Washington, D. C., 1837), 444–48.

[14] Taney to Evan Poultney (copy), Mar. 21, 1834, David M. Perine Papers, Maryland Historical Society; Taney to Ellicott, Mar. 25, 27, 30, 1834, Taney Papers.

[15] Kendall to Ellicott, Apr. 15, 1834, *ibid.*

[16] *Report from the Secretary of the Treasury . . . Relative to Deposites in the Union Bank of Maryland, Stock Held therein by R. B. Taney &c.,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Docs., No. 236 (Washington, D. C., 1834), 20–21; Ellicott to Taney, Feb. 20, 1834, Perine Papers.

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Taney's efforts to rescue Ellicott failed. By July 1834 the Treasury finally gave up on him. Taney assigned his proxies to the group that ousted his former friend[17] as Ellicott went out in a blaze of acrimony, lawsuits, and apologetic pamphleteering. Ellicott's politics cannot be classified precisely as Democratic. He supported administration banking policy, not the administration. And because he singlehandedly ruled the Union Bank,[18] his directors' politics are almost irrelevant. While administration policy coincided with Ellicott's interests, he readily played the role of ardent administration man, although privately he ridiculed the financial naïveté of Jackson and Taney.[19] As for Bank War ideology, one suspects that he responded to Taney's almost impassioned calls to battle with tongue resting comfortably against cheek.

A Baltimore manufacturer and Whig, Hugh Evans, replaced Ellicott. And the Union Bank's new board showed a decidedly more Whiggish stamp after July 1834.[20] That this political aberration did not disturb the administration stems from Evans' skillful salvage job, and from Washington's desire for stability in Baltimore banking. Evans wisely put his active Whiggery on the shelf, as the administration noted approvingly. While Evans avoided politics, the Treasury untangled the disorder left by Ellicott with "kindness, confidence, and liberality."[21] Evans promised full support for administration financial measures, and he kept the promise. The administration needed an efficient, primary pet in Baltimore. Evans, a Whig but an apolitical banker, met this need.

The story of the principal Philadelphia pet bank affords a striking example of commercial and political accommodation. Despite the fact that the Girard Bank fought the Bank of the United States on its home ground, almost nothing has been written about it.[22] Perhaps the neglect stems from overemphasis on the struggle between New York banks and the Bank of the

[17] Taney to Perine, May 28, 29, June 2, 1834, Robert Oliver Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[18] John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times* (Baltimore, 1917), 399–400; Kennedy, MS Journal, Dec. 21, 1833, Kennedy Papers; see also "Roger Brooke Taney's Account of His Relations with Thomas Ellicott in the Bank War," ed. Stuart Bruchey, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* LIII (Mar., June 1958), 58–74, 131–52.

[19] Henry Baldwin to Joseph Hopkinson, Feb. 3, 1834, Joseph Hopkinson Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[20] Baltimore *Republican,* June 17, 1834; Woodbury to Jackson, Aug. 2, 1834, Jackson Papers; Roswell Colt to Nicholas Biddle, Oct. 2, Dec. 4, 1834, Nicholas Biddle Papers, Library of Congress.

[21] Taney to Woodbury, Nov. 5, 6, 1834, Woodbury Papers; Evans to Woodbury, Sept. 9, 1835, Feb. 29, 1836, TD/NA, Letters from Banks.

[22] There is an institutional account: Josiah G. Leach, *The History of the Girard National Bank of Philadelphia, 1832–1902* (Philadelphia, 1902). Although not critical, it surpasses most commemorative bank histories in including thumbnail sketches of directors.

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United States as the heart of the Bank War. There were many fronts, with significant pet banking battles occurring in Philadelphia. The leading pet banker there, William David Lewis, became cashier of the Girard Bank at its incorporation in 1832 and proved himself a crafty businessman, banker, and politician.[23]

Among his many business connections, Lewis had formed, in the late 1820's, a wholesale textiles agency with William and E. D. Whitney—a tie of subsequent importance for him and for the Girard Bank. His partners' brother, merchant Reuben M. Whitney, had been a Bank of the United States director, but later turned against Nicholas Biddle and his bank. After volunteering anti-Biddle testimony before a congressional committee in 1832, Reuben Whitney joined the Jacksonians. He shifted operations to Washington and later became lobbyist and semiofficial representative for many pet banks. Lewis dealt circumspectly with Reuben. Despite the partnership with Whitney's brothers, Lewis avoided financial commitments. "It was very well known to me," Lewis reassured his own brother, "at the time I formed my connexion . . . that Reuben M. Whitney could not be worth a Dollar." But he remained equally reluctant to antagonize Whitney, since the man's growing political power might someday be useful.[24]

Politically, Lewis was anti-Jackson, but he was far from fanatical about it. He had supported Clay for the presidency in 1832, without zeal and with little expectation of victory. Lewis would not let politics interfere with business. He remained on good terms with Whig textile men such as the Dwights of Massachusetts and with Democratic politician-businessmen such as New York's Churchill C. Cambreleng. Although he valued the reliability of Bank of the United States paper, when he sensed Clay's impending defeat, Lewis ordered his brother to sell their Bank of the United States stock.[25]

By then Lewis had already closed his store and accepted the cashier's desk at the newly opened Girard Bank. Chartered to fill the gap created in the Philadelphia money market by the death of private banker Stephen Girard, the institution could hardly be termed a Democratic engine.[26] Some important Jacksonians appear in the list of incorporators, but the direction of

[23] See *Dictionary of American Biography* [hereafter cited as *DAB*] (22 vols., New York, 1928–44), XI, 226–27.

[24] E. D. Whitney to Lewis, Oct. 31, 1829, Lewis to John D. Lewis (copy), Feb. 5, 1832, Lewis-Neilson Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[25] Lewis to Cambreleng (copy), Mar. 15, 1832, to John D. Lewis (copy), Feb. 7, Mar. 31, 1832, *ibid.*

[26] But Philadelphia Democrats had been part of the scramble for stock that accompanied the selection of commissioners and distributions. (Charles Macalester to Lewis, Jan. 11, 1832, Lewis-Neilson Papers; Daniel K. Miller to Benjamin S. Bonsall, Feb. 19, 1832, Benjamin S. Bonsall Papers [in the Gratz Collection], Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

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the bank rested mainly in the hands of opposition merchants of moderate views.[27]

As Jackson approached his decision on removal of the deposits, Lewis' gentle handling of Reuben Whitney began to pay off. Whitney had frequent talks with administration leaders in 1833, including a few meetings with Jackson. One of the points Whitney made, after general assurances of a pet bank system's feasibility, was a recommendation that the Girard Bank be made the Philadelphia depository. On Whitney's urging, Lewis offered his services in June, before the removal policy had been fully established.[28]

When Kendall reached Philadelphia, Whitney had preceded him, and he found the Girard Bank officers ready. While about half the city's banks declined to negotiate (refusals that Kendall attributed to Biddle's malign influence), the Girard Bank stood among those willing to cooperate. Kendall showed no special affinity for the bank's claim, however, hoping to interest the Bank of Pennsylvania, because of the state's heavy investment—a factor that might help commit Governor George Wolf to the anti-Bank of the United States side. But in Washington Whitney continued to argue for Lewis, while feeding him confidential data about administration intentions. On the eve of removal, Whitney, signing himself "Anti-Nicholas," proudly announced the Girard Bank's selection to Lewis. "Anti-Nicholas" was not antiprofits, however, and he advised: "If you can turn an *honest penny* to mutual advantage after you get this . . . I should like it. Burn this letter."[29] At first, the Treasury indicated that Philadelphia might shortly get a second pet bank. Whitney devoted much time to sidetracking this notion, which he considered akin to betrayal. "Those who fought the battle, are entitled to the spoils of victory," Whitney told Lewis in good Jacksonian fashion, and he got no argument.[30]

The Girard Bank did not join other Philadelphia banks in petitioning for restoration of the deposits to the Bank of the United States during the worst of Biddle's panic in the winter of 1833–1834. Yet within a few months, in March, stockholders forced Lewis to terminate his Treasury contract, although Whitney raged and threatened immediate withdrawal of the entire government balance. A group of investors favoring retention of pet bank

[27] Leach, *Girard National Bank*, 34–36; MS minutes of stockholders meeting, July 2, 1832, Girard Bank Papers, Lewis-Neilson Papers.

[28] Whitney to Jackson, Mar. 18, 1833, Jackson Papers; Whitney to Lewis, May 18, 26, June 8, 1833, Lewis-Neilson Papers; Lewis to William J. Duane, June 26, 1833, TD/NA, Letters from Banks.

[29] See James Gordon Bennett's account in the Philadelphia *National Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1834; Kendall to Jackson, Aug. 11, 1833, *Jackson Correspondence*, ed. Bassett, V, 150–52; Whitney to Lewis, Sept. 25, 1833, Lewis-Neilson Papers.

[30] Whitney to Lewis, Oct. 28, Nov. 17, 1833, *ibid.*

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status (including several prominent and agitated Democrats) then organized a countermovement and got many persons who had voted to surrender the funds to change their votes. In July 1834 Philadelphia collector James N. Barker assured Secretary Woodbury that "more of the friends of the Government have an interest in the Girard Bank than in any other bank of the city."[31]

Barker got his information from Henry Toland, a merchant and friend of President Jackson and one of a group of Democratic investors who had lately increased their Girard Bank holdings. The group included Henry D. Gilpin, Charles J. Ingersoll, and, most important, Charles Macalester, the free-lance financier. These men worked hard to swing other investors back to pet status, and by August they achieved their objective: a new contract with Washington. The increased Democratic influence among the stockholders also produced changes in the make-up of the board more favorable to the administration.[32]

While these events accentuated the political aspects of Girard Bank affairs, Lewis avoided antagonizing either side, and he continued to cultivate his working relationship wtih Whitney. The selection of the Girard Bank had originated in Lewis' assessment of the benefits the deposits would bring and in his refusal to allow the power of the Bank of the United States to panic him. He reasoned correctly that the administration would not abandon him—an all-important deduction he could make confidently since Whitney knew the workings of the Washington inner circle and reported them almost daily. Lewis aided his own cause by displaying competence and political adaptability. As Whitney expressed it, admiringly, to Lewis: "That I should tell *you* and instruct *you,* how to work a finesse, makes me smile."[33]

During the five months that the Girard Bank had surrendered the deposits, the Treasury found itself without a Philadelphia depository and had to transmit funds to the Baltimore pet. To restore them to the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia was, of course, unthinkable. Jackson had proclaimed Biddle's bank not only a monster, but an unsafe monster.

The discomfiture over the Girard's temporary desertion resulted in the selection of a second pet bank in Philadelphia. The prize went to the Moyamensing Bank. Located in a section of the city best known for its

[31] Whitney to Lewis, Jan. 13, 1834, *ibid.;* MS minutes of stockholders meeting, Mar. 17, 1834, Girard Bank Papers; Philadelphia *United States Gazette,* Mar. 18, 1834; Barker to Woodbury, July 17, 1834, TD/NA, Misc. Letters Received.

[32] James Schott to Woodbury, Aug. 9, 1834, *ibid.,* Letters from Banks; Whitney to Lewis, Nov. 23, 1834, Lewis-Neilson Papers.

[33] Whitney to Lewis, Nov. 2, 1833, *ibid.* For further evidence of Lewis' multipartisan adaptability, see Thaddeus Stevens to Lewis, May 29, 1836, Thaddeus Stevens Papers, Library of Congress.

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prison, it was not convenient to the wharves or to the customhouse, and it had the lowest paid-in capital of any Philadelphia bank.[34] But it did boast impeccable Democratic credentials.

Recommendations from city machine leaders minced no words about the Moyamensing's political orthodoxy.[35] No vacillation, no procrastination, no double-dealing would mar its relations with Washington. True, the capital was low, but the vitality was high, assured the politicos, hinting that the "vitality" might produce desirable political results. Submerged in a sea of laudatory verbiage lay the unsettling fact that the Moyamensing Bank, for all its reputed political soundness, had panicked in December 1833 and joined the crowd of Philadelphia banks requesting restoration of the deposits.[36] But no need to dredge that up; better to write it off as youthful folly (after all, the bank was only a year old). Even good men stumbled, and the list of Moyamensing directors bulged with good Democrats. Of twelve board members (out of fourteen) whose politics I have identified, all twelve were Jacksonians.

When things went wrong at several pets, early in 1834, President Jackson reacted characteristically. The deposits, he swore, would never be restored, and public funds would stay in collectors' strong boxes if no state banks accepted them.[37] Dramatic as this display of fortitude might have been, administration leaders had long since realized that determination was not enough. One prominent New York City Democrat had the quaint notion of rechartering Tammany Hall as a bank, thus solving the party's financial problems.[38] Wiser heads knew that they would have to work through established channels in New York. Kendall steered straight for the largest of the city's banks: the Bank of America, the Bank of the Manhattan Company, and the Mechanics Bank. Each boasted a capital of two million dollars, half a million more than the next in line.

Without a strong anchor in New York City, the pet system would begin in deep trouble and might not be able to function. Kendall found his anchor in George Newbold of the Bank of America. Newbold, a shrewd, powerful former merchant ("the first man on Wall Street," Governor William L. Marcy called him), had cooperated previously with the Democrats in estab-

[34] Henry Simpson to Taney, Nov. 18, 1833, TD/NA, Misc. Letters Received.
[35] Simpson, "for himself & for the party," to Woodbury, Sept. 13, 1834, Woodbury Papers.
[36] *Memorial of Certain State Banks in Philadelphia, Praying that the Public Deposites may be Restored to the Bank of the United States,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Docs., No. 20 (Washington, D. C., 1834).
[37] Jackson's endorsement on Henry Horn to Jackson, Feb. 16, 1834, Jackson Papers.
[38] Stephen Allen to Jesse Hoyt, Nov. 28, 1832, in *Life and Times of Martin Van Buren,* ed. William L. Mackenzie (Boston, 1846), 241.

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lishing the safety-fund system, and offered the necessary experience, stability, specie reserves, and complaisance.[39] Kendall had no trouble with Newbold, whom he described as a "gentleman of comprehensive views, who did not accept the dogma of his party that a national bank was a necessary financial agent of the government." Although an opposition man before removal, Newbold threw his energy and his bank's strength into the deposit agency with such effort that the cashier of the New York Bank of the United States branch soon blasted him as "one of our most deadly enemies."[40] Newbold conformed perfectly to Kendall's second selection criterion: an opposition man with "liberal" feelings.

When Kendall returned to Washington and the problem of pet selection, several cabinet members objected to Newbold on political grounds. Kendall smoothed ruffled feelings by recounting details of his New York negotiations, during which Newbold had presumably pledged cooperation and had conveyed an impression of authority and competence. Thus a bank in which "every director was a Whig" (to quote Kendall's memoirs) became a Democratic pet.[41] Kendall's memory erred on two counts, one trivial, the other not: opposition men were not yet called Whigs; while the board included many opposition men, directors George Griswold and Stephen Whitney worked hard against the Bank of the United States during the period of removal and the Biddle panic.[42] The state government, under Albany Regency control, understandably appointed two Democrats as state directors. In addition, Peter Crary, John H. Howland, and Benjamin L. Swan, all Democratic merchants, sat on the board, as did Cornelius W. Lawrence, Jacksonian member of Congress and soon to become mayor of New York City.

Jackson might confuse Newbold's bank with Philadelphia's Bank of North America, but while Lawrence remained in Washington that winter he saw to it that mistaken identity went no further. It was Lawrence's job to translate Newbold's financial primacy in New York City into political gold with Taney and Jackson. Lawrence saw Taney frequently during that crisis session and used the opportunities to obtain confidential information that did not belong in official correspondence.[43]

[39] Newbold to Cambreleng, Apr. 8 [1829], Martin Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress. Despite his Wall Street primacy in the 1830's biographical material on Newbold is not abundant, and the *DAB* contains no sketch. Fortunately, portions of his papers survived and are in the New-York Historical Society.

[40] *Autobiography of Amos Kendall*, ed. William Stickney (Boston, 1872), 381; Morris Robinson to Biddle, Feb. 20, 1834, Biddle Papers.

[41] *Kendall Autobiography*, ed. Stickney, 387.

[42] William B. Townsend to Biddle, Sept. 26, 1833, Robinson to Biddle, Nov. 26, 1833, Biddle Papers.

[43] *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (46 vols., New York, 1898–), VIII, 85–86;

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The administration responded handsomely. Newbold became the agent for handling the lucrative French and Neapolitan claims payments, in addition to receiving regular heavy deposits. For his part, Newbold gave the Democrats good banking service, at a vital point in the pet system, and he also gave them much less trouble than the other two New York City pets. Regency leaders such as Benjamin F. Butler might grumble over the necessity of working with such "federal commercial men" as Newbold, but, if Butler had been Secretary of the Treasury instead of Attorney General, he might have accepted the benefits of the Bank of America connection more gracefully.[44] Taney and Woodbury had no complaints. And a year after his selection, Newbold reflected favorably on the "reform in the currency" then in progress under administration guidance, a reform that "will ere long be completely effective." So far had "reform" and the profits of the government business extended that in 1836 Newbold declared a semiannual dividend of 14½ per cent.[45]

The Bank of the Manhattan Company was the second partner in the New York pet banking triumvirate. Aaron Burr obtained a perpetual charter for the company in 1799, which included banking privileges.[46] By the 1830's the bank had come under the control of the White family. Robert White joined the board in 1815, and by the time of the Bank War had become its cashier. His brother, Campbell P. White, sat on the board as well as in Congress as a Democrat from 1829 to 1835.[47] He probably spent as much time on Manhattan Bank affairs and related currency problems as he did on party matters and congressional duties.

The Manhattan Bank's selection proved controversial. Opposition men delighted in pointing out that Lord Carmarthen and other Irish landlords and British noblemen held most of its stock and that their proxies gave the Whites control. At a time when Jacksonians hailed their leader's bank veto message and its sections attacking foreign investors and aristocracy, the Whites' activities afforded an obvious target for opposition barbs.[48] In addi-

Lawrence to Newbold, Nov. 26, 1833, George Newbold Papers, New-York Historical Society. This is one of a long series of superb political letters from Lawrence to Newbold, written almost daily during the winter of 1833–1834.

[44] Butler to Hoyt, Feb. 24, 1834, in *Van Buren,* ed. Mackenzie, 171; Lawrence to Newbold, Dec. 20, 1833, Newbold Papers.

[45] Newbold to Woodbury, Dec. 9, 1834, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Edward Cruft to Newbold, June 28, 1836, Newbold Papers; New York *Evening Star,* June 26, 1836.

[46] Beatrice Reubens, "Burr, Hamilton and the Manhattan Bank," *Political Science Quarterly,* LXXII (Dec. 1957), 578–607, LXXIII (Mar. 1958) 100–25.

[47] Joseph Scoville, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (4 vols., New York, 1863–66), III, 145–48; for Campbell White, see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress,* 81 Cong., 2 sess., House Docs., No. 607 (Washington, D. C., 1950), 2000.

[48] New York *Evening Star,* Sept. 29, 1833, Aug. 29, 1835, are among countless such examples.

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tion, many Jacksonians tried to undermine the Treasury's confidence in the bank, which they assailed as a White family affair.[49]

Although the Manhattan Bank gave trouble during some crises, the administration decided against abandoning it. Changing a major pet was risky enough under the best of circumstances, and with so many charges and countercharges in the air concerning bank loyalties and perfidies, it seemed wiser to leave highly capitalized, functioning pets alone. With Campbell White in Washington until 1835, the Manhattan Bank enjoyed an even better status, politically, than the Bank of America since Cornelius Lawrence had returned to New York as mayor. Representative White let nothing slip by on the subject of banking; he was always there, explaining, softening, or cajoling in the Manhattan Bank's behalf.[50]

White's voluminous Treasury correspondence includes the only document I have found listing directors' politics for a pet bank. On the eve of the Deposit Act of 1836, when criticism of the Manhattan Bank reached a peak, he defended his brother and the bank at length, then produced his most telling argument: parallel columns of directors' names arranged by party showing a Democratic margin of seven to five. The next year, when White sought to ease Treasury demands for funds, he reminded Woodbury that "the Manhattan Bank was in its inception Republican in character, and it has adhered to the Democracy in all its struggles and vicissitudes for a period of thirty eight years."[51]

The Mechanics Bank proved by far the most unobtrusive of the New York pets. Founded in 1810 by the Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, by the 1830's it had built up a reputation for conservative banking and a widely distributed stock ownership, which created for it a popularity that later helped save the bank.[52] As for the bank's politics, Kendall correctly identified it as a bank in friendly, that is, Democratic, hands. He also recounted an interview in August 1833 during which its president, Democrat John Fleming, demurred over accepting the public money. Fleming had brought with him a written refusal, but Kendall claims he brushed this aside with arguments about the administration's embarrassment should the public learn that a Democratic bank had shied away from the pet system. Further persuasion, and Newbold's decision to participate, supposedly won Fleming over.

[49] Gorham A. Worth to Marcy, Jan. 29, 1833, William L. Marcy Papers, Library of Congress; "O. P. Q." to Jackson, Dec. 14, 1835, Woodbury Papers; for an attack by the state bank commissioners, see Albany *Argus*, Jan. 31, 1833.

[50] White to Woodbury, Mar. 26, 1836, Woodbury Papers.

[51] White to Woodbury, Mar. 26, 1836, Apr. 13, 1837, *ibid.*

[52] James B. Murray to Thomas L. Smith, Feb. 2, 1833, Jackson Papers; *Kendall Autobiography*, ed. Stickney, 381; New York *Times*, Oct. 11, 1834.

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Kendall's retrospective account does not coincide with the bank's enthusiastic response to Kendall's initial proposition, however, and may not be accurate.[53] The bank also received an assist from the "Red Fox," Martin Van Buren, who made it a point to give few pet bank recommendations. Van Buren spoke well of the bank, especially its conduct toward the government during the War of 1812, but he avoided any mention of current politics.[54]

Fleming let other New York pet bankers monopolize the limelight. Behind the scenes, and unknown to the Treasury, he and his associates speculated with the bank's funds. When the panic of 1837 caught up with them, Fleming, worried about imminent exposure, died of apoplexy, producing widely believed rumors of suicide. The Mechanics Bank had to be rescued by Democratic director Jacob Lorillard who became president, and by Albert Gallatin of New York's National Bank, then playing the role of Wall Street "elder statesman," to the entire satisfaction of neither political party.[55]

The original New York City pets reigned for three years. Although the administration received dozens of requests for a more "democratic" apportionment of the money, it replied with excuses about the necessity for caution until Congress established statutory guidelines for deposit banking. Managers of smaller, clearly Democratic banks remained unsatisfied. Political appeals continued to come in from such men as Gideon Lee of the Leather Manufacturers Bank, John Delafield of the Phoenix Bank, and the president of the Tradesmens Bank, who bore the deliciously improbable name of Preserved Fish. But they had to wait for the Deposit Act in 1836, which increased the number of New York City pets from three to fourteen.

Moving northward, we find the bank that more than any other had the confidence of the state's leading Democrats, the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Albany. Known as the "Regency Bank," no nagging doubts exist as to its politics. Thomas W. Olcott, a member of the Albany Regency, the clique that ruled New York State politics, served the bank almost all his life. He started at sixteen in 1811, the year of the bank's founding, was cashier from 1817 to 1836, and president from 1836 to his death in 1880.[56]

[53] Fleming to Kendall, Aug. 9, 1833, *Report from the Secretary of the Treasury . . . Requiring Copies of Certain Correspondence Relative to the Public Deposites and the Affairs of the Bank of the United States,* 23 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Docs., No. 17 (Washington, D. C., 1834), 54; *Kendall Autobiography,* ed. Stickney, 381.

[54] Van Buren to Jackson, Sept. 14, 1833, *Jackson Correspondence,* ed. Bassett, V, 186; Van Buren to Woodbury, Mar. 29, 1835, Woodbury Papers.

[55] Jesse Hoyt to Benjamin F. Butler, May 4, 1837, Benjamin F. Butler Papers, Princeton University Library; Gallatin to Azariah C. Flagg, Sept. 30, Oct. 11, 1837, Azariah C. Flagg Papers, New York Public Library; Charles A. Davis to Biddle, May 19, 1837, Biddle Papers.

[56] *National Cyclopedia of American Biography,* XVIII, 204; Jonathan Tenney, *New England in Albany* (Boston, 1883), 99; Horatio Seymour to Frederick P. Olcott, Mar. 29, 1880, Thomas W. Olcott Papers, Columbia University.

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Ties between bank and regency had been secured over many years and brought with them state deposits and canal fund loans. Van Buren early associated himself with its affairs, as did such men as Charles E. Dudley and Benjamin F. Butler.[57] Another regency member, Benjamin Knower (William Marcy's father-in-law), became president of the bank in 1817 and held the post until his retirement under fire in 1834.[58]

Olcott had long been seeking federal deposits. The absence of a Bank of the United States branch at Albany stirred his hopes, and as early as 1819 he inquired after government money for the Mechanics and Farmers Bank.[59] But during the 1820's the bank had to settle for preferential treatment from the state government in depositing the canal fund surplus. When Jackson came to power, Olcott renewed his campaign for federal patronage. Van Buren broached the subject with Secretary of the Treasury Samuel D. Ingham, who responded deferentially, but gravely stressed his official responsibilities and the fact that a transfer of funds from the Bank of the United States could not be undertaken lightly. Van Buren relayed this homily to Albany without comment.[60]

Two years later, the Regency Bank returned to the attack, this time through the War Department and its pension funds. In January 1831 Senator Charles Dudley called on Secretary John Eaton to discuss the "disquiet" New York Democrats increasingly felt over the Bank of the United States. A judicious transfer of the pension agency to Albany not only would begin the process of crimping Biddle, but would help up-State pensioners who had been receiving funds payable in New York City. Further testimonials about the soundness of Olcott's bank, said Dudley, could be obtained from the Secretary of State, Van Buren.[61] Eaton complied, depriving the Bank of the United States of funds for all but city and southern New York pensioners, and Biddle reacted immediately and sharply, demanding to know the authority for such a change. Later, when Lewis Cass took over the War Department, he admitted the lack of authority, and in the spring of 1832 the Mechanics and Farmers Bank had to give up its short-lived pension agency. Olcott had already decided against an appeal through Marcy to the President.

[57] Van Buren to Gorham A. Worth, Mar. 19, 1818, Van Buren Papers; Dudley to Morris Miller, May 5, 1821, to Olcott, Feb. 2, 1829, both in the Gratz Collection; see also the heavy and valuable Butler-Olcott correspondence in the Olcott Papers.

[58] Ivor D. Spencer, "William L. Marcy Goes Conservative," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXI (Sept. 1944), 209.

[59] John W. Taylor to Olcott, Jan. 30, 1819, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library.

[60] Nathan Miller, *The Enterprise of a Free People: Aspects of Economic Development in New York State during the Canal Period, 1792–1838* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1962), 117; Ingham to Van Buren, Aug. 7, 1829, Gratz Collection.

[61] Dudley to Olcott, Jan. 1, 1831, Misc. Charles E. Dudley Papers, New York State Library, Albany; Dudley to Eaton (copy), Jan. 8, 1831, Gratz Collection.

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It would disrupt the new cabinet and might injure Van Buren, whose nomination as minister to Great Britain awaited Senate action.[62] Both sides behaved in a manner that pointed to larger issues. Olcott and Biddle knew that a pension agency was the least profitable and most troublesome form of government financial patronage. Yet the two men wrestled for the New York agency, Olcott hoping it would start the flow of federal money his way, Biddle fearful that any relinquishment might bring more damaging withdrawals.

The Mechanics and Farmers Bank had been receiving driblets of federal special deposits for many years, and the New York branch of the national bank maintained an account there, but relatively little federal money changed hands at Albany. Often Olcott had no more than a few hundred federal dollars directly on his books. In 1835 he obtained full pet status, and by funneling federal monies through Albany for disbursement to northern and western New York, the administration raised the amount to over $100,000, and by 1837 it had climbed to nearly $200,000—small stuff compared to the million and a half to two million dollars each New York City pet customarily held, but a vast improvement nevertheless.[63]

Olcott was not a particularly cooperative pet banker. His solid standing with the state machine and its canal fund board gave him an independence and power that some of the nominally Whig pet bankers lacked, although the picture painted by anti-Masonic leaders and accepted by some recent historians of a state-wide, regency-imposed banking monopoly is not valid.[64] Peremptory advice on deposit legislation, unabashed demands for increased deposits, and other evidence of Olcott's strong opinions came to Secretary Woodbury's desk frequently. Perhaps these facts leaked out because in 1835 Democrat Erastus Corning's Albany City Bank made a bid for deposits based on ludicrous charges of Olcott's hostility to the national administration.[65]

[62] Biddle to Isaac Lawrence, June 30, 1831, Burr Bank of the United States Collection, Library of Congress; Biddle to J. L. Edwards, July 15, 1831, *Bank of the United States*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., House of Representatives, Reports of Committees, No. 460 (Washington, D. C., 1832), 481–85; Cass to Biddle, Mar. 1, 1832, *ibid.*, 489; Olcott to Marcy, Jan. 12, 1832, Marcy Papers.

[63] Morris Robinson to Biddle, Apr. 23, 1831, Biddle Papers; Woodbury to Olcott, Mar. 20, 1835, TD/NA, Letters to Banks; Olcott to Woodbury, Apr. 7, 1835, *ibid.*, Letters from Banks.

[64] I am presently developing the idea, in a separate essay, that the Albany Regency did not control the New York City money market (despite heavy Democratic influence there), and that more emphasis must be placed on the divergences in economic interests and connections between the regency and Tammany leadership to understand New York Bank War politics.

[65] Olcott to Woodbury, Apr. 25, Nov. 2, 1835, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Irene D. Neu, *Erastus Corning: Merchant and Financier, 1794–1872* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1960), 96–97; Watts Sherman to Newbold, Dec. 7, 1835, Newbold Papers. If Biddle's Albany confidants can be believed, Corning not Olcott was the potential defector. "Both Mr. Corning and Mr. [Watts]

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Regency leaders in Washington easily blunted that accusation.[66] Troublesome though Olcott could sometimes be, his political loyalties never learned to stray. Devoted to the New York Democratic machine, he saw state banking as an essential part of a decentralized Republican party. In 1837 he lectured his friend Van Buren, then about to recommend supplanting state depositories with subtreasuries, on the value of scattered and numerous state banks that "embrace and foster every interest . . . of Society." Despite faith in the effectiveness and near sanctity of state banking, Olcott adjusted himself to Van Buren's shift in policy. Economically and politically, the regency had been good to Olcott; he would not abandon it for Conservatism and amalgamation with the Whigs.[67]

Boston has often treated outlanders brusquely. Kendall ended his mission there, with a reception not nearly so encouraging as that of other cities. Boston financiers valued, almost to the point of smugness, the stability of their twenty-five banks and their successful implementation of the Suffolk system which curbed note issue by country banks. They indulged in no headlong rush to confer with Kendall about the banking experiment proposed by the administration. Only four banks showed an interest, and Kendall's Commonwealth Bank correspondence indicated that it would be one of those named.[68]

Pet status for the Commonwealth Bank surprised no one. The bank, as Democrat John Mills later testified publicly, "for many years, and at the time of its failure, was under the management of men friendly to the administration."[69] Although not an officer or director, David Henshaw played a central role. The Commonwealth Bank began operations in 1824 with a board composed of men soon to be Democratic leaders. When Henshaw and his Boston *Statesman* group became the core of the Jackson party of Massachusetts, the Commonwealth Bank shared in this transformation. Shortly after removal, John K. Simpson, a leading Democratic politician and Henshaw's protégé, became president of the bank. Simpson's friendli-

Sherman [the cashier] are in favor of the Bank of the United States . . . tho' opposed to us as party men." (Simeon DeW. Bloodgood to Biddle, May 19, 1836, Biddle Papers; see also Nicholas Devereux to Biddle, Apr. 1, 14, 1837, *ibid.*)

[66] Woodbury to Corning, Sept. 26, 1836, TD/NA, Letters to Banks; John Van Buren to Woodbury, May 9, 1837, Woodbury Papers.

[67] Olcott to Van Buren, Sept. 19, 1837, Van Buren Papers; Olcott to Flagg, Apr. 10, 1838, Flagg Papers.

[68] Kendall to Benjamin T. Pickman, Aug. 16, 1833, Oriental Bank Papers, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; *Kendall Autobiography*, ed. Stickney, 380.

[69] Mills's statement, Sept. 15, 1838, in *Refutation, by his Friends, of the Calumnies against David Henshaw, in Relation to the Failure of the Commonwealth Bank, and the Transfer of South Boston Lands to the U.S.* (Boston, 1844), 51.

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ness with Kendall became a subject for wild speculation among the Bank of the United States men who dubbed Kendall the *de facto* president and predicted deep conspiracies to misuse the public funds through the pet bank agency.[70]

Boston's second pet was the Merchants Bank. Originally intended as the junior partner in the pet firm, the Merchants Bank under the leadership of a remarkably able young man, Franklin Haven, more than held its own. Displaying the same kind of opportunism Lewis demonstrated in Philadelphia, twenty-seven-year-old Haven directed the bank with complete self-assurance. He became cashier at its founding in 1831, then moved to the presidency in 1836, a position he held for nearly fifty years.[71]

Haven's friendship with Daniel Webster is well known and creates the erroneous impression of a Whig pet banker. Haven dated the start of his Webster connection as 1835 or 1836, well after removal. In painting the "Reply to Hayne," executed in the 1850's, G. P. A. Healey filled the Senate gallery with Webster's Boston friends, including Haven. Since Haven subscribed to Healey's project, this was good business, but poor history. Webster hardly knew Haven existed in 1831.[72]

Haven had one basic loyalty: the Merchants Bank. To foster its interests, once he had accepted the deposits, he worked assiduously and easily with the Democratic leaders in Boston and journeyed to Washington to cement relations with administration men, including the President. At home, the cement hardened nicely. Haven put Democrat Marcus Morton on his board, but the man to whom he drew closest was Henshaw, the collector of the port and political patron of the Commonwealth Bank. Henshaw often acted as intermediary in relations with Woodbury at the Treasury, and he proved particularly valuable in helping stave off the challenges of innumerable new Boston banks, all claiming to be Democratic and all clamoring for deposits. In 1835 Henshaw's relation to the Merchants Bank became official when he joined the board.[73]

Henshaw's fondness for Haven's bank remained strong. But soon Henshaw had banking troubles of his own: the Commonwealth Bank failed in 1838. The failure became a hot political issue, with Henshaw's behind-the-

[70] P. P. F. DeGrand to Biddle, Feb. 2, 1834, Biddle Papers; Henshaw to Woodbury, Apr. 29, 1836, TD/NA, Collectors' Applications, box 107.

[71] *Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County, Massachusetts* (3 vols., Boston, 1894), II, 280–81; MS Records, New England Merchants National Bank, Boston.

[72] Franklin Haven, MS Autobiography (fragment), Franklin Haven Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Claude M. Fuess, *Daniel Webster* (2 vols., Boston, 1930), I, 375.

[73] Haven to Woodbury, July 16, 1834, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Henshaw to Haven, Mar. 29, 1837 (copy), MS Records, New England Merchants National Bank.

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scenes role the central point of debate.[74] Thus the Merchants Bank found itself the leading Boston pet. Haven took over the government's pension agency, and on all financial matters the administration listened to him with respect.[75]

As for Haven's politics, some "out" politicians impugned his Democratic sincerity, but Morton told the new collector, George Bancroft, not to worry. While there was no democracy in any bank, claimed this Taunton representative of the rural Democrats, the Merchants Bank inclined as much that way as any other. Besides, Haven always voted the Democratic ticket.[76]

By the end of 1833 the number of pets rose to twenty-two, with the naming of fifteen additional banks. In the next two and a half years thirteen more joined the club as the administration closed geographical gaps in the nation-wide network. The political and personal bias apparent in the first round selections became more pronounced, and many recently chartered banks began to receive deposits. Further cataloguing, however compressed, of all these institutions and their political ties would not be feasible.[77] But several should be mentioned, if only briefly.

All the second-line New England choices reveal pure politics, nepotism, or personal connections as determinants for selection. After his Boston visit, Kendall reported that "the character of the Maine Bank was highly spoken of to me by many gentlemen of New England." And well they might, if the gentlemen were Jacksonians, since Democrat Asa Clapp, Secretary Woodbury's father-in-law, ran the Maine Bank of Portland. Clapp, the town's richest merchant, apparently did not qualify for membership in the

[74] Leonard Jarvis to Van Buren, Jan. 24, 1838, Van Buren Papers; Seth J. Thomas to George Bancroft, Jan. 29, 1838, George Bancroft Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[75] Haven to Woodbury, May 16, 1839, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Bancroft to Woodbury, Sept. 14, 1839, Woodbury Papers; Richard Ela to Bancroft, Aug. 2, 1840, Bancroft Papers.

[76] J. W. James to Francis P. Blair, Jan. 24, 1838, Blair-Lee Papers, Princeton University Library; Morton to Bancroft, Feb. 3, 1838, Bancroft Papers; for an earlier Democratic identification of Haven, see Washington *Globe*, May 30, 1833.

[77] I have closely studied each of the thirty-five pets named from 1833 to 1836, but obvious space limitations prohibit extensive coverage, or even the two or three pages allotted to banks in cities visited by Kendall. Jacksonians believed, or so they said in private and repeated in public, that the pet banks lay in the hands of their political opponents. ("... a majority of the Directors of 7/10ths of all the Deposit Banks [are] politically opposed to us." [Reuben M. Whitney to Lewis, Feb. 16, 1835, Lewis-Neilson Papers.] A year later, Blair improved on the proportion: "in fact 9/10th of those banks are under the control of the opposition." [Washington *Globe*, Mar. 24, 1836.]) To test the claim I built up a file of all pet bank presidents, cashiers, and directors at time of selection (a total of 446 men, excluding the state-run monopoly in Indiana), and made firm political identifications of 236 individuals, or 53 per cent. They break down by party as follows: Democrats, 186 (78.8 per cent); Whigs, 50 (21.2 per cent). Conceivably, the unidentified men might all be Whigs, but I offer this 53 per cent "sampling" for what it may be worth. It is based on research employing antiadministration sources as extensively as Jacksonian.

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aristocracy of wealth which Democrats excoriated with more severity than sincerity.[78] In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the Commercial Bank, aided by recommendations from Woodbury and Isaac Hill, obtained the federal deposits.[79] A Whig editor observed ruefully: "We know nothing and insinuate nothing against the management of the Commercial Bank. It is probably managed like other banks in town, but unlike other Banks, it has a Jackson president,—and this, we presume, is the *true and only reason* why this bank was selected." The man in question, Isaac Waldron, an active politician, became a Van Buren presidential elector in 1836.[80] In the section's financial backwater, Vermont, the Bank of Burlington kept close to the administration by using the services of Reuben Whitney and sending assurances that its operations had produced favorable political effects.[81] The postmaster of Providence, Rhode Island, Edward J. Mallett, journeyed to Washington and got the deposits for his friends at the nondescript Arcade Bank. With a low capitalization and its stock selling sluggishly, the bank hardly seemed a prime prospect. Collector W. R. Danforth admitted that "few of our citizens, except those immediately interested would have supposed such a selection would have been made." But it was, and Mallett and Company succeeded in blunting factional assaults during the next three years.[82]

The Hartford pet affords the most obviously political selection in the area. Following Biddle's defeat in the election of 1832, the Democratically controlled Connecticut legislature rushed to charter half a dozen banks, including the Farmers and Mechanics Bank.[83] Hartford Jacksonians saw to it, by a careful selection of commissioners, that the new bank fell into politically sound control. "I never shall vote for a cashier who is politically opposed to us," swore William S. Holabird. "If a *true democrat* cannot be found who is competent . . . I had rather make shipwreck of the whole concern than to have it controlled by federalists."[84] Orthodoxy assured, the Democrats

[78] Kendall to Duane, Aug. 28, 1833, *Report from the Secretary of the Treasury*, 23; Portland *Advertiser*, quoted by Philadelphia *National Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1833; for Clapp, see *DAB*, IV, 117–18; and Clapp to Woodbury, Nov. 16, 1835, Woodbury Papers.

[79] Isaac Waldron to Kendall, Aug. 24, 1833, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Hill to Woodbury (draft), Oct. 5, 1833, Isaac Hill Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.

[80] Portsmouth *Journal*, Oct. 26, 1833; Waldron to Woodbury, Dec. 2, 1840, Blair Family Papers, Library of Congress.

[81] R. G. Cole to Woodbury, Jan. 23, 1836, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Cole to Whitney, Jan. 25, 1836, *Select Committee . . .*, 537–38.

[82] Mallett to Kendall, Sept. 28, 1833, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Danforth to Taney, Dec. 28, 1833, *ibid.*, Letters from Collectors; Christopher Allen to Woodbury, May 23, 1836, Woodbury Papers; Dutee J. Pearce to F. P. Blair, Oct. 14, 1836, Blair-Lee Papers.

[83] Francis Parsons, *A History of Banking in Connecticut* (New Haven, Conn., 1935), 15–16; *The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut 1633–1884*, ed. James Hammond Trumbull (2 vols., Boston, 1886), I, 341–43.

[84] B. L. Raynor to Gideon Welles, Aug. 1, 1833, Holabird to Welles, Aug. 16, 1833, Gideon Welles Papers, Library of Congress.

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approached Washington with perfectly partisan candor concerning pet bank selection and easily carried their point. Whigs exaggerated only slightly when they scored the Farmers and Mechanics Bank as "essentially a *political machine*." Government funds in Hartford went into a bank all of four months old.[85]

To the south, Washington's Bank of the Metropolis had a Democratic president, John P. Van Ness, a friend of Jackson and Van Buren, and a board of directors heavily weighted with Jacksonians.[86] In Richmond John Brockenbrough of the Bank of Virginia maintained close ties with the state Democratic machine, a fact he frequently reminded Secretary Woodbury of during the late 1830's.[87] When he needed additional deposits in 1837, Brockenbrough added to his financial arguments a partisan plea: "of my political course it does not become me to speak further than to remark that I have brought on myself a full share of the odium of the leaders of the opposition party in this State."[88] As a banker, Brockenbrough earned much respect; the opposition odium arose from his increasing political activities as the decade wore on. The more troubled his institution became, the more Brockenbrough revealed himself as a political partisan.[89] North Carolina did without a pet for two years, although administration men warned that such negligence might hurt the party there.[90] The recently chartered but non-Democratic Bank of the State of North Carolina received deposits in 1835, after strenuous lobbying by Democratic Congressman Romulus M. Saunders, a belated recognition for the state that Jacksonians attempted to turn to political account with limited success.[91] In Georgia, Democrat James M. Wayne, an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, volunteered an advisory opinion on the Planters Bank of Savannah: "The Bank is managed by persons among us of the first respectability . . . every one of whom have

[85] Niles *et al.* to Duane, Sept. 23, 1833, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Kendall to Niles, Oct. 15, 1833, Niles Papers; New Haven *Palladium*, quoted by Washington *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 20, 1833.

[86] David M. Cole, *The Development of Banking in the District of Columbia* (New York, 1959), 41–44, 173–74; Allen C. Clark, "General John Peter Van Ness . . . ," *Columbia Historical Society Records*, XXII (1919), 160–61; Washington *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 1, 1833; Kendall to Richard M. Johnson, Mar. 19, 1838, French Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[87] Brockenbrough to Woodbury, Apr. 25, 1835, Nov. 11, 1836, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Brockenbrough to Van Buren, May 22, Nov. 12, 1837, Van Buren Papers.

[88] Brockenbrough to Woodbury, Apr. 29, 1837, Woodbury Papers.

[89] Thomas Ritchie to John Rutherfoord, Sept. 27, 1839, John Rutherfoord Papers, Duke University Library; Richmond *Whig*, quoted by Washington *Madisonian*, Apr. 27, 1839; Brockenbrough to William H. Roane, Mar. 1, 1840, Chamberlain Collection.

[90] Jesse Speight to Woodbury, July 13, 1834, TD/NA, Letters from Congress.

[91] Joseph B. Skinner to Duncan Cameron, Dec. 16, 1833, Duncan Cameron Papers, University of North Carolina Library; Saunders to Woodbury, Apr. 3, July 18, 1835, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Raleigh *Star*, Apr. 30, 1835. Several directors were former Democrats who joined Senator Willie P. Mangum's bolt from the Jacksonian ranks in 1833.

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been ever since the controversy with the U. S. Bank began supporters of the . . . administration."[92]

Two major commercial centers in the West, New Orleans and Cincinnati, merited a pair of pets each. In New Orleans, the Commercial Bank of Democrat William G. Hewes had strong connections with one of the Jackson factions of that city.[93] The administration also chose the Union Bank, primarily for its capital of seven million dollars,[94] and Democratic influence there soon increased. New Orleans collector Martin Gordon at first attacked both pets, especially the Union Bank, but he calmed down when his son became its cashier.[95] Cincinnati's first pet, the newly chartered Franklin Bank, had a Democratic president, John H. Groesbeck, and a political friend and active lobbyist in Micajah T. Williams, prominent Democratic officeholder.[96] In 1834 the Commercial Bank joined the Franklin Bank in handling public money; this second Cincinnati pet had a president and cashier who were Democrats[97] and important investors among the Democrats of Philadelphia who helped run the Girard Bank.[98]

The only purely opposition pet bank of the original thirty-five was the Bank of Louisville, and it held deposits only a few months. Kentucky's banking troubles of the early 1820's and the revocation of many charters did not leave any choice in that city. Taney selected a new bank that voluntarily surrendered the deposits during the winter panic of 1833–1834.[99] Its replacement, the Louisville Savings Institution (the only savings bank selected), could display a political endorsement from the postmaster, and a president, George Meriwether, who had been Kendall's partner in the *Argus of West-*

[92] Wayne to Van Buren, July 18, 1838, TD/NA, Letters from Banks.

[93] Hewes to Taney, Oct. 27, 1833, *ibid.*; John Slidell to Taney, Oct. 21, 1833, *ibid.*, Misc. Letters Received; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "The Political Apprenticeship of John Slidell," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVI (Feb. 1960), 63–69.

[94] Reuben M. Whitney to Lewis, June 24, 1833, Lewis-Neilson Papers; New Orleans *Bee*, Nov. 21, 1833.

[95] Gordon to Taney, Nov. 26, 1833, TD/NA, Letters from Collectors; Gordon to Blair, Dec. 13, 16, 1833, Jackson Papers; Martin Gordon, Jr., to Jackson, Apr. 8, 1836, TD/NA, Letters from Banks.

[96] Washington *Globe*, Nov. 21, 1835; Groesbeck to Van Buren, Mar. 11, 1836, Van Buren Papers; Williams to Taney, Sept. 27, 1833, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1833.

[97] William S. Hatch to Van Buren, July 22, 1833, Van Buren Papers; Hatch to Robert Lucas, Sept. 8, 1834, Ohio Governors' Papers, Ohio Historical Society; Robert T. Lytle to Woodbury, Apr. 8, 1835, Woodbury Papers.

[98] Henry Toland to [William B. Lewis?], Aug. 16, 1834, Jackson Papers. The administration selected a third Ohio pet, the Clinton Bank of Columbus, on the eve of the Deposit Act of 1836. Democrats managed the bank. (B. Henkson to Lucas, Aug. 24, 1834, Ohio Governors' Papers; Bela Latham to Woodbury, Jan. 11, 1835, TD/NA, Letters from Banks.)

[99] Elmer C. Griffith, "Early Banking in Kentucky," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, II (1908–1909), 170–80; Frankfort *Argus*, May 15, Sept. 18, 1833; Louisville *Herald*, July 1, 1833; Alfred Thruston to Taney, Feb. 17, 1834, TD/NA, Letters from Banks.

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ern America.[100] Pittsburgh's pet, the Merchants and Manufacturers Bank, aroused ire among some disgruntled Jacksonians, particularly in nearby Ohio towns, because its cashier, James Correy, had been the Bank of the United States branch cashier. But enough Democratic politicians spoke up for it to protect its pet status.[101]

Finally, some comments are needed on pet banking in Detroit. The president and cashier of the Bank of Michigan were Whigs, and the cashier, Charles C. Trowbridge, ran for governor on the Whig ticket in 1837.[102] (He resigned from the bank to campaign, returning as president after his defeat.) At this point, however, extenuations begin to pile up. With no Bank of the United States branch in Detroit, the Bank of Michigan had served the government, and served it well, since the 1820's. Trowbridge had cultivated many Democrats and had a good friend, Secretary of War Lewis Cass, in Jackson's cabinet during removal.[103] Later in the decade Boston collector Bancroft came forward to protect the bank. He did so because of his relation by marriage to the Dwight family of New York and Massachusetts, who owned the bank.[104] Also, no adequate inquiry into the Detroit situation should slight the companion pet, the Farmers and Mechanics Bank. Owned by New Yorkers allied to the Albany Regency,[105] the second pet nestled safely in Democratic hands, despite the twist of fate that made Nicholas Biddle's brother, John, its president. It began sharing Michigan Territory deposits in 1834, with no other reason for selection than a desire to please the Democratic faction of John Norvell, the Detroit postmaster. Despite its relative lack of experience and lower capital, the Farmers and Mechanics Bank got half the money collected.[106]

[100] John P. Oldham to William T. Barry, Oct. 4, 1833, Meriwether to Woodbury, Aug. 21, 1834, *ibid.*

[101] William H. Denny to Harmar Denny, Jan. 5, 1833, Misc. Denny Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; David Lynch *et al.* to Woodbury, Sept. 9, 1834, John A. Bryan *et al.* to Woodbury, Dec. 19, 1834, TD/NA, Misc. Letters Received.

[102] *Michigan Biographies* . . . (2 vols., Lansing, Mich., 1924), II, 369. Trowbridge proved the dominant individual in the bank. His extensive papers in the Detroit Public Library reveal much about western banking and politics. Until the campaign of 1837 the Albany Regency considered Trowbridge an administration man. (Albany *Argus,* Aug. 15, 1837.)

[103] Trowbridge to Solomon Sibley, Mar. 6, 1825, Solomon Sibley Papers, Detroit Public Library; Cass to Trowbridge, Nov. 1, 1833, Charles C. Trowbridge Papers, Detroit Public Library.

[104] Harry N. Scheiber, "George Bancroft and the Bank of Michigan, 1837–1841," *Michigan History,* XLIV (Mar. 1960), 82–90; Jonathan Dwight, Jr., to Eurotas P. Hastings, May 24, 1831, Eurotas P. Hastings Papers, Detroit Public Library. The Dwight Family Papers detail their investment in the Bank of Michigan and other western banks. (See, e.g., Hastings to Henry Dwight, Apr. 30, 1833.)

[105] Montgomery Hunt to Aaron Ward, Jan. 23, 1834, TD/NA, Letters from Banks; Lot Clark to James Porter, Nov. 17, 1834, Griscom Collection of Bronson Family Papers, New York Public Library.

[106] John A. Welles to Ross Wilkins, Dec. 11, 1833, Norvell to Taney, Jan. 12, 1834, TD/NA, Letters from Banks.

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Whigs naturally stigmatized deposit banks as "pets,"[107] charging that the network existed only to foster Democratic party interests, and in one sense they were right. A functioning system of state depositories as a replacement for the Bank of the United States represented an enormous political triumph for Jackson. After all, many Democrats approached deposit banking fearfully, their ears filled with the doom-ridden chants of the opposition about an immediate financial catastrophe. But bankers, however they vote, mean to make a profit. "Money is neither Whig nor Tory," Biddle had observed, quoting Jonathan Swift.[108] Some Whigs may have believed that pet bank vaults became the coffers of the local Democratic machines, but there is little evidence that this happened. Random indications of such favoritism with public money are by no means conclusive,[109] and the logic of business makes such a course unlikely as a general rule. The term "pet," however, should not be discarded. Instead, the stereotype should be expanded to include those banks which had important personal connections with administration leaders, as well as those clearly reflecting the influence of the local Jacksonian party. In the cases of ties among friends, the name "pet" remains perfectly appropriate. Personal commitments became at times as important as broader party considerations, if not more so, given the power of the single individual to control such decisions for his home territory.

Another aspect of favoritism deserves comment. Did the administration select weak, Democratic banks to the exclusion of willing, but politically neutral or hostile ones? In some cases it did, and Kendall's mode of operations and subsequent Treasury practice proved important in this process. Kendall circularized all banks in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, but his preliminary set of proposals called for collective responsibility among the pets, and most banks declined those terms. Kendall then negotiated seriously with the banks ultimately chosen, ignoring the others, despite objections that pet bankers such as Ellicott and Newbold had to the first series of proposals. Later selections did not come about through circularization. The Secretary, after what he deemed proper inquiry and consultation, simply announced his choices, in some cases surprising ones in terms of

[107] The earliest use of the nickname I have found is in a letter from Washington, dated Oct. 8, 1833, which appeared in the Albany *Advertiser*, Oct. 15, 1833. The Washington *National Intelligencer* used the word on Nov. 9, 1833, and two days later James Watson Webb picked it up. (New York *Courier & Enquirer*, Nov. 11, 1833.)

[108] Walter B. Smith, *Economic Aspects of the Second Bank of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 153.

[109] Asa Clapp to Woodbury, Nov. 16, 1835, Woodbury Papers (Maine Bank); R. G. Cole to Reuben Whitney, Jan. 25, 1836, *Select Committee . . .*, 537–38 (Bank of Burlington, Vt.); Jeremiah G. Harris to Bancroft [undated; 1838?], Bancroft Papers (Commonwealth Bank, Boston); J. S. Barbour to Biddle, July 29, 1834, Biddle Papers (Bank of the Metropolis, Washington).

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financial standing. The Arcade Bank of Providence, for example, ranked tenth in paid-in capital of that city's ten banks (it had $200,000, while five Providence banks—the Providence, Exchange, Roger Williams, Union, and Merchants—all had paid-in capitals of $500,000). The Moyamensing Bank of Philadelphia also ranked last. Similarly, the Maine Bank of Portland stood low on the list in capitalization, as did the Commercial Bank of New Orleans and the Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Hartford. In addition, as already noted, many newly chartered banks got the deposits, and the Treasury made no effort to open, or in some case reopen, negotiations with older institutions.

Deposit banking chronology, 1833–1836, falls into three periods: Initial Selections—The first seven choices in major eastern cities revealed the operation of Kendall's dual criteria, with five "friendly" banks and two in the hands of "liberal" opponents (Lewis and Newbold); Second-line Selections of October and November 1833—These were overwhelmingly Democratic, applying the first criterion; Fill-in Selections from 1834 to the Deposit Act of 1836—Geographically determined, they showed a mixed picture on politics. Included are such clearly Democratic choices as the Moyamensing Bank of Philadelphia, the Farmers and Mechanics of Detroit, the Clinton Bank of Columbus, and the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Albany, as well as opposition-oriented but cooperative banks such as the Franklin Bank of Baltimore and the Bank of the State of North Carolina.

That politicians tend to help their friends is hardly a startling proposition. But, whenever possible, historians should avoid swapping guesswork, however plausible. With regard to pet bank selection there is no need to guess; political considerations and the personal preferences of reigning political leaders made pets out of the vast majority of these banks. As Kendall phrased it, "those which are in hands politically friendly will be preferred." And preferred they were, until the Van Buren administration, "sick to the heart of banks and bank morals,"[110] turned elsewhere after the panic of 1837.

[110] Woodbury to Bancroft, Nov. 12, 1839, Bancroft Papers.

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Pope Pius XII and Germany: Some Aspects of German-Vatican Relations, 1933-1943

GEORGE O. KENT*

A RECENT German play has once again drawn attention to German policy during the Second World War and in particular to Germany's relations with the Holy See regarding the final solution of the Jewish problem.[1] The play is centered on a moral issue.

This article is not concerned with any moral issue. It is not an account of the acts or policies of the Catholic hierarchy in Germany when confronted with the Nazi program, although their action and advice must have influenced the Vatican.[2] It is an analysis of the relations between the Vatican and Germany and of the policies and attitudes of the Vatican officials as seen and reported by the German diplomats.[3] Admittedly the whole truth is not to be found in this one source. The German representatives in Rome may not have been able to see the true facts; they may have seen what they wanted to see; and, however accurate their vision, they may have reported what they thought would please the German Foreign Minister and the Nazi leaders. Nor is it possible to correct bias by the usual method since the Vatican records for this period are not available. Nevertheless an attempt to establish the facts as accurately as the available sources permit is not only justifiable, but desirable. If no scholarly history were written

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[1] Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (Hamburg, 1963); *The Deputy,* tr. from the German Richard and Clara Winston (New York, 1964).

[2] Among the best accounts of the relations between the Nazi government and the German Catholic hierarchy are: Guenter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (New York, 1964), and Nathaniel Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church* (London, 1939).

[3] The published documents, from Jan. 1933 to Dec. 1941, are printed in *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945* [hereafter cited as *DGFP*] (17 vols., Washington, D. C., 1949–), Ser. C, I–IV, Ser. D, I–XIII. The unpublished documents, identified by serial and frame numbers, are on microfilm in the National Archives in Washington, D. C., and in the Public Record Office in London. The originals are in the Political Archives of the Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn.

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until all possible sources were available, little would ever be written, and humanity would have to depend for its essential understanding of the past on newspapers, TV broadcasts, and similar accounts.

The initial confrontation between the Vatican and the Third *Reich* occurred during the negotiations in April and May 1933, which in a very short time led to the conclusion of the concordat.[4] The initiative for the concordat was taken by the German government and particularly by Franz von Papen,[5] who at that time (April 1933) was Vice-Chancellor in the Hitler cabinet. Papen went to Rome during the Easter holidays to discuss the preliminaries, returned to Berlin to get Hitler's approval, and, after further conversations, signed the concordat with the Secretary of State, Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, in Rome on July 20, 1933. Pope Pius XI signed it on Septmber 9, 1933.[6]

Without a doubt, the concordat was a diplomatic victory for Hitler. It was his first major success in the field of foreign policy, and it indicated to the world that the German Chancellor was politically reliable and trustworthy. In the words of Mussolini, it gave the German government "credit in foreign affairs which it had lacked heretofore."[7] Why did the Vatican enter into these negotiations and sign this agreement? Robert Leiber, who served Cardinal Pacelli and later Pope Pius XII as private secretary, believed that the positive attitude of the Catholic Center party and the Catholic Bavarian People's party toward the so-called enabling laws in 1933 greatly influenced the attitude of the Holy See. This influence was reinforced by the apparent willingness of the German bishops to cooperate with the leaders of the Third *Reich,* as expressed by them in their meeting of March 28, 1933.[8] Also Nazi centralization in Germany

[4] Up to that time there was no concordat between the Holy See and the German *Reich.* Concordats with various *Länder* had been concluded as follows: with Bavaria, Mar. 29, 1924; with Prussia, Aug. 3, 1929; with Baden, Oct. 12, 1932; an agreement with Anhalt, Jan. 4, 1932. (See *DGFP,* Ser. D, I, No. 690.)

[5] Franz von Papen, *Der Wahrheit eine Gasse* (Munich, 1952), 313 ff.; *DGFP,* Ser. C, I, No. 145; see also Hansjakob Stehle, "Motive des Reichskonkordats," *Aussenpolitik,* VII (Sept. 1956), 561–63; Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung und Reichskonkordat* (Wiesbaden, 1956), 52 ff. On the question of Papen's initiative in these negotiations, see Lewy, *Catholic Church and Nazi Germany,* 63–68 and n. 36.

[6] *DGFP,* Ser. C, I, No. 371, and Editor's Note, 790. According to Monsignor Ludwig Kaas, the former leader of the Center party, who was one of the participants in the negotiations, "the concordat which Herr von Papen submitted to us in 1933 was not a National Socialist product, as has been hitherto believed, but a draft originally prepared during the time of President Ebert." (Constantine, Prince of Bavaria, *The Pope* [New York, n.d.], 97.) This is not altogether correct. Among the papers that Papen took with him to Rome was also a draft of a *Reich* concordat from 1924. (See *DGFP,* Ser. C, I, No. 145.) In addition, there were also several proposals for modifications which, from the German point of view, took account of the changes since the 1920's. (*Ibid.,* No. 250; see also Rudolf Morsey, "Briefe zum Reichskonkordat," *Stimmen der Zeit,* CLXVII [Oct. 1960], 11–30.)

[7] Quoted by Papen, *Wahrheit eine Gasse,* 316.

[8] Robert Leiber, "Der Vatikan und das Dritte Reich," *Politische Studien,* XIV (May–June

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destroyed the value of the separate concordats with the various German states, thus making a *Reich* concordat logical if the Church were to have a strong legal position in education, youth organizations, and similar matters. Still, the Vatican was deeply suspicious of Hitler's motives; at the same time it did not dare to reject his advances. Negotiations could have been broken off had the German government refused to agree to the major demands of the Holy See. They were, however, accepted with little opposition.[9] Under these circumstances, opposition to the concordat might have led to an open struggle between Church and state in Germany; this the Vatican did not want to provoke.

No sooner was the concordat signed than altercation between the German government and the Holy See began. The dispute concerned the government's refusal to appoint Catholic officials of Jewish descent. The Vatican, not recognizing racial criteria, wanted such appointments to be nondiscriminatory. This the government refused; it considered the matter an internal problem, outside the jurisdiction of the Vatican. It was not possible to give these people equal status, Eugen Klee, the German chargé at the Vatican, explained to the Cardinal Secretary of State, because "the Jewish question was not a religious but a race problem."[10]

The next, more serious dispute occurred in October 1933 over oppression of Catholics in Germany, which, despite solemn promises by the government, was increasing steadily and was in direct violation of the concordat. According to Cardinal Pacelli, the Pope was planning to make a public protest because "the dignity of the Holy See requires that he emerge from the reserve which has heretofore been incomprehensible to the faithful."[11] The settlement of these differences was made more difficult, wrote Diego von Bergen, the German ambassador to the Holy See, because "the inflexibility and unpredictability of the Pope often create serious obstacles which even the influential Cardinal Secretary of State, who takes a realistic attitude in matters of policy, is no longer able to cope with."[12] In the end, the Holy See made no public protest, and the dispute was settled between Bergen and Pacelli.[13] But this was only the beginning. The concordat may have prevented open warfare between the Roman

1963), 293–98; William M. Harrigan, "Nazi Germany and the Holy See, 1933–36," *Catholic Historical Review*, XLVII (July 1961), 167; Lewy, *Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, 36–41.

[9] According to a memorandum of Oct. 27, 1938, by the director of the Political Department in the German Foreign Ministry, "If the [German] Ambassador [to the Holy See] had taken part in Herr von Papen's negotiations on the Concordat, fewer concessions would certainly have been made." (*DGFP*, Ser. D, IV, No. 466.)

[10] *Ibid.*, Ser. C, I, No. 425.

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 501.

[12] *Ibid.*, II, No. 3.

[13] *Ibid.*, No. 6.

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Catholic Church and the government in Germany, but it did not end the ideological conflict between National Socialism and Christianity. The conflict was over the interpretation of specific clauses of the concordat, such as definitions of "political Catholicism" and "party politics." And it was fought over the dismissal of Catholics from the civil service, freedom of expression for Catholic newspapers, pressure on Catholic schools and organizations, sterilization laws, and persecution of nuns and priests. All these incidents profoundly disturbed the Pope, and in his 1936 New Year's audience with Bergen he told him "with profound emotions, 'We never expected to be treated so by Germany when We think of the persecution, restrictions, and obstructions to which the Church is subjected in present day Germany, We can only say that friends do not behave like this. We are, in truth, deeply grieved and gravely displeased.' "[14] Commenting on this audience, Bergen reported that Pius XI had actually used much stronger language, and that "this episode has shown yet again how Cardinal Pacelli constantly strives to pacify and to exert a moderating influence on the Pope who is difficult to manage and to influence."[15]

The culmination of the struggle between the Third *Reich* and the Holy See, prior to the outbreak of World War II, was reached with the publication of the papal encyclical "On the Condition of the Catholic Church in the German Reich," better known by its opening, "Mit brennender Sorge" (with burning anxiety), on Passion Sunday, March 14, 1937.[16] It was a scathing indictment of Nazi ideology, which publicized for the first time that there were plans in Germany for extermination of the Catholic Church. It listed the various violations of the concordat by the German government and the persecution of its Catholic citizens. It warned against a German national church, against casting aside the Old Testament, and against the deification of race, people, state, and government. It asserted that "God has given His commandments in the manner of a sovereign. They are independent of time, space, country, or nation."[17] The encyclical was a severe blow to the Nazi party. It did away with the myth, fostered assiduously by German press and propaganda, that Catholics were not persecuted in Germany. It demonstrated the unalterable opposition between Catholicism and National Socialism.[18] It was the one and only papal

[14] *Ibid.*, IV, No. 482.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] The German text is in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (56 vols., Vatican City, 1909–), XXIX (Apr. 10, 1937), 146–67; an English translation in *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich* (London, 1940), 523–37.
[17] *Ibid.*, 525.
[18] Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church*, 173–74; for a different view, see Lewy, *Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, 158–59.

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pronouncement against the Third *Reich* during its existence.

The reaction of the German government was sharp and angry: it considered the encyclical "a call to battle against the Reich Government."[19] And in the instructions to its missions abroad, the Foreign Ministry asserted that "the encyclical contains attacks of the severest nature upon the German Government, calls upon Catholic citizens to rebel against the authority of the State, and therefore signifies an attempt to endanger internal peace."[20] The government took the position that the encyclical was against "the spirit and express provisions of the Concordat"[21] and, by way of retaliation and upon personal instructions from Hitler, planned to resume "the foreign exchange and immorality trials pending against Catholic clergymen."[22] It also apparently considered at that time the abrogation of the concordat as part of a final settlement between Church and state.[23] This was "to take place in the form of a fundamental speech in the Reichstag by the Führer—for historical reasons presumably scheduled for Reformation Day. The Führer is said to have stated that in its effect this speech would greatly eclipse Luther's ninety-five theses and that it was to complete the work of the Reformation in the German spirit."[24] In the end, nothing was done,[25] though Joachim von Ribbentrop, when he visited the Vatican in March 1940, discussed some of these aspects of the concordat with the Pope.[26] Thus, the government took no drastic steps at that time to disrupt its relations with the Holy See.

It was soon further embittered, however, by a speech by George Cardinal Mundelein in Chicago, attacking Hitler and the government's proceedings against the Catholic Church in Germany.[27] To smooth things over, Pacelli received Bergen in a most friendly manner, and, "in striking contradiction to the behavior of the Pope . . . emphatically assured [Bergen that] normal and friendly relations . . . would be restored as soon as possible."[28] This, the Secretary of State emphasized, "applied particularly to him, who had spent 13 years in Germany and had always shown the greatest sympathy for the German people."[29] A few months later, the Pope, in his Christmas allocution of December 1937, declared once again that there

[19] *DGFP*, Ser. D, I, No. 633.
[20] *Ibid.*, No. 638.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*, No. 642.
[23] *Ibid.*, No. 661.
[24] *Ibid.*, No. 681.
[25] *Ibid.*, No. 683, n. 53a.
[26] *Ibid.*, VIII, No. 668; see below, page 66.
[27] *Ibid.*, I, Nos. 652–55, 657–60.
[28] *Ibid.*, No. 667.
[29] *Ibid.*

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was indeed religious persecution in Germany.[30] This difference in attitude toward Germany between the Pope and his Secretary of State continued into 1938. Pius XI severely criticized Theodor Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna for his part in the declaration of Austrian bishops following the *Anschluss*.[31] Pacelli, on the other hand, "repeatedly and emphatically" told Arthur Greiser, President of the Danzig Senate, of his "desire for a settlement between the Vatican and the Reich, and went so far as to state that he, Pacelli, was prepared to come to Berlin for negotiations, if it were so desired."[32] In conversation with Bergen, Pacelli "repeatedly protested his fervent wish for peace with Germany."[33]

Meanwhile, the persecution of Jews was intensified in Germany. New decrees provided for the registration of Jewish property and for the elimination of Jews from German economic life. In November 1938 systematic acts of violence by organized street gangs destroyed Jewish properties, synagogues, and cemeteries. Against these measures and outrages many foreign governments protested.[34] The Vatican remained silent.

Pius XI died on February 10, 1939, and Cardinal Pacelli was elected Pope. The new Pope was very different from his predecessor. Pius XI was outspoken and quick tempered; Pius XII was reticent and cautious. While the former was known for his impulsiveness and stubbornness, his successor was known as the "diplomatic" Pope. Foreign affairs were his specialty and relations with Germany his own private domain.[35] The German government looked upon his election with mixed feelings. While Berlin realized that the new Pope was much friendlier to Germany than his predecessor, who had been considered a cranky, stubborn old man, it was also known that Pacelli was a "difficult and tenacious" negotiator.[36] Distrust toward him was evident in a suggestion that "congratulations [on

[30] *Ibid.*, No. 687.

[31] See *ibid.*, No. 702; for the declaration of the Austrian bishops, *ibid.*, No. 698, n. 63; Lewy, *Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, 215.

[32] *DGFP*, Ser. D, I, No. 703.

[33] *Ibid.*, No. 700. For further details on Pacelli's peaceful attitude, see William M. Harrigan, "Pius XII's Efforts to Effect a *Détente* in German-Vatican Relations, 1939–1940," *Catholic Historical Review*, XLIX (July 1963), 173–91.

[34] Against the decree of Apr. 26, 1938, providing for the registration of Jewish property, representations were made by the following countries: United States, Belgium, Britain, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, Sweden, Czechoslovakia. On the occasion of the events of Nov. 8–10, 1938, the following countries took steps: Italy, Britain, Netherlands, Hungary, Brazil, Lithuania, Soviet Russia, Guatemala, Finland, Poland, United States. Against the decree of Nov. 12, 1938, for the restoration of the normal appearance of streets around Jewish shops, the following countries protested: Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Hungary. Against the decree of Nov. 12, 1938, for eliminating Jews from the German economy, the following countries protested: Poland, United States, Iran, Lithuania, Netherlands, Switzerland, Hungary. (*DGFP*, Ser. D, V, No. 656.)

[35] *Ibid.*, IV, No. 475, VI, No. 395.

[36] *Ibid.*, VI, No. 395.

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the election] are in order, but, in view of the well-known attitude of the former Cardinal Pacelli toward Germany and the National Socialist movement, they are not to be conveyed in a particularly warm manner."[37]

The change in the Vatican was reflected in its relationship with Germany. The anti-Nazi pronouncements of Pius XI were not repeated. Instead, the new Pope expressed his "burning desire for peace between Church and State"[38] and his love for Germany.[39] Bergen reported an "unmistakable relaxation of tension . . . since the death of the Pope";[40] he also pointed out that Pius XII's letter to Hitler announcing his election was much friendlier than the one Pius XI had sent to President Friedrich Ebert in 1922 on a similar occasion.[41] The change may have been only tactical, but there was no doubt that it affected foreign policy and that it "aroused the hope that a new epoch had dawned for German-Vatican relations."[42] German annexation of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939 was not protested by the Holy See,[43] and President Roosevelt's appeal for peace, directed at Hitler and Mussolini in April 1939, was criticized in Vatican circles for its one-sidedness.[44] Pius XII was ready, so it seemed, to make far-reaching concessions for achieving a peace with Germany as long as the vital interests of the Church were safeguarded. To a group of German pilgrims he was reported to have said:

> We have always loved Germany, where We were able to spend many years of Our life, and We love Germany even more today. We rejoice in Germany's greatness, rise, and well-being and it would be false to assert that We do not desire a flourishing, great, and strong Germany. For this very reason, however, We desire that the rights of God and the Church be always recognized, for every greatness is the more firmly established the more these rights are esteemed and made the foundation for the edifice.[45]

These expressions of friendliness by Pius XII were not reciprocated by the German government, and Bergen warned that its intransigent attitude might lead to new tensions and struggles in which the new Pope would prove a more skillful and more dangerous opponent than the previous one.[46]

The outbreak of war was a personal tragedy for Pius XII, whose

[37] *Ibid.*, IV, No. 471.
[38] *Ibid.*, No. 472.
[39] *Ibid.*, VI, No. 395.
[40] *Ibid.*, IV, No. 473.
[41] *Ibid.*, No. 475.
[42] *Ibid.*, VI, No. 502.
[43] *Ibid.*, No. 65.
[44] *Ibid.*, No. 240.
[45] *Ibid.*, No. 502, n. 3.
[46] *Ibid.*, No. 395.

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greatest ambition was to bring about a just peace and whose efforts in that direction now proved in vain. The Holy See undertook two major efforts to preserve the peace. The first, in the spring of 1939—known in the Vatican as the May initiative—was in the form of a circular directive to all apostolic nuncios. The second, in August of the same year, was a communication to all chiefs of state.[47] Catholics and non-Catholics alike have asked many times why the Holy See made no further efforts toward peace. The usual reply given by Vatican circles, if a German report on conditions in the Vatican can be believed, was that the Pope was reluctant to undertake a hopeless task that would diminish his prestige. On the other hand, the Pope's mistrust of the National Socialist regime, as distinguished from the German people, was almost as deep as his suspicion of the Soviet regime. This, too, may have played a part in his not pursuing further peace moves at that time.[48] After September 1939 German-Vatican relations assumed a different aspect. The disputes over violations of the concordat were temporarily suspended and a truce of sorts established. In the opinion of Ribbentrop, who visited the Pope in March 1940, a comprehensive settlement between the Church and state was entirely possible after the war, provided,

> the Catholic clergy in Germany abandon any kind of political activity and limit itself solely to the care of souls, the only activity which was within the clergy's province. The recognition of the necessity of such a radical separation, however, could not yet be considered to be the dominant view of the Catholic clergymen in Germany. . . . The Catholic Church in Germany had come into possession of positions and rights of the most various kind which it considered, to be sure, duly acquired, but which were not compatible with the absolutely necessary limitation to its spiritual functions. The Catholic clergy must be imbued with the realization that with National Socialism an entirely new form of political and national life had appeared in the world. Only after this had happened could a fundamental settlement and understanding be approached with any chance for a lasting success. One must not repeat the mistake made with the prematurely concluded concordats [*Länder* concordats and *Reich* concordat], which already had to be considered out of date, if only on account of the formal constitutional developments in Germany which had taken place since they were concluded. In the opinion of the Führer, what mattered for the time being, was to maintain the existing truce and, if possible, to expand it. In this respect, Germany had made very considerable preliminary concessions. The Führer had quashed no less than 7 thousand indictments of Catholic clergymen. Also, it should not be forgotten that the National Socialist State was spending 1 billion RM an-

[47] See National Catholic Welfare Conference, *Principles of Peace* (Washington, D. C., 1943), 586.

[48] Hofman Memo, "Der Vatikan im Krieg," Rome, Sept. 29, 1942, Ser. 824, frames 279940–67. On peace feelers by the German opposition through the Vatican in January and February 1940, see Erich Kosthorst, *Die deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler* (Bonn, 1954), 128 ff.

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nually for the Catholic Church; no other state could boast of such an achievement.[49]

According to the German record, "the Pope showed complete understanding toward the Foreign Minister's statements and admitted without qualifications that the concrete facts were as mentioned."[50] The truce lasted but briefly. Germany's conquest and occupation of Poland raised several problems, not the least of which was the question of the competence of the apostolic nuncio in Berlin over this territory. Discussions on that subject continued almost to the very end of the war.[51]

By the end of 1940 reports had reached the Vatican of the euthanasia program in Germany, the killing of the feeble-minded and of inmates of insane asylums. The Pope was deeply moved by these reports, and when Bergen protested a Vatican Radio broadcast on the subject, he was given to understand "that there were much more grave reports which, out of consideration for Germany, had not been published either in the Vatican press or on the Vatican radio."[52] No formal protests were made by the Holy See in regard to these killings in contrast to the many protests it lodged about the confiscations of Church properties in Germany and in the occupied eastern territories.[53] Even the broadcasts of Vatican Radio were curtailed when Bergen objected to charges "regarding the mistreat-

[49] *DGFP,* Ser. D, VIII, No. 668.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.,* XII, Nos. 183, 474, 567; additional documents have been filmed on Ser. 434.
[52] *DGFP,* Ser. D, XII, No. 199.
[53] The following compilation by the Foreign Ministry, requested by Ribbentrop on Feb. 27, 1942, showed the various protests by the nuncio regarding confiscation or expropriation of Church property since Apr. 1, 1938. (535/240274–79.)

Protests by the nuncio regarding confiscation	Nature and date of protest	Result
Priests' seminary in Innsbruck	Oral, Nov. 29, 1938	Partial release
Serviten monastery, Innsbruck	Memo, Feb. 17, 1939	Confiscation upheld
Monastery, Göttweig	Oral, Mar. 6, 1939 Note, Oct. 11, 1939 Oral, Oct. 17, 1939	Confiscation upheld
Capucine convent, Salzburg	Memo, Aug. 6, 1939	Confiscation upheld
Jesuit College, Innsbruck	Note, Oct. 16, 1939	Confiscation upheld
Capucine convent, Graz	Oral, Oct. 17, 1939	Amicable settlement
Church and estates, Inzersdorf	Note, Dec. 18, 1939	Confiscation upheld
Estates of the German order in the Sudeten areas	Note, Dec. 23, 1939	Confiscation upheld
Heart of Jesus Church, Vienna/Mödling	Note, Jan. 30, 1940	Church released

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Protests by the nuncio regarding confiscation	Nature and date of protest	Result
Monastery of Eternal Supplication, Innsbruck	Oral, Mar. 4, 1940	Confiscation upheld
Church property in Poland in general	Oral, Mar. 15, 1940	No steps intended
Convent in Steiermark	Memo, May 29, 1940	Confiscation upheld
Heart of Jesus Monastery, Graz	Memo, May 28, 1940	Confiscation upheld
Teaching sisters, Graz/Eggenberg	Memos, July 3, 1940 July 23, 1940 July 26, 1940 Aug. 6, 1940 Oral, Aug. 10, 1940	Confiscation upheld
Small seminary of the archbishopric of Prague	Note, July 9, 1940	Restitution promised
Capucine church, Hartberg	Note, Aug. 23, 1940	Confiscation upheld
Benedictine abbey, Tanzenberg	Oral, Sept. 10, 1940	Confiscation upheld
St. Antonius Monastery, Saybusch, OS	Note, Sept. 25, 1940	Not confiscated
A considerable number of Church institutions and monasteries in East Prussia and Silesia	Oral, Nov. 28, 1940 Dec. 11, 1940	Confiscation upheld
Bishop's palace, Soisson	Note, Dec. 9, 1940	Partial restitution of palace
Printing works of the Steyler mission	Note, Feb. 17, 1941	Confiscation upheld
Benedictine monastery, St. Gallus, Bregenz	Oral, Feb. 5, 1941	Confiscation upheld
Sixty-eight monasteries of the diocese Kattowitz	Notes, Feb. 12, 1941 Mar. 15, 1941 Apr. 9, 1941 Aug. 28, 1941	Confiscation upheld
Priests' seminary, Salzburg	Oral, Feb. 5, 1941 Note, Feb. 13, 1941	Confiscation upheld
Convent Zangberg	Memo, Mar. 31, 1941	Confiscation upheld
Benedictine abbey, Schweikelberg, and four other properties of this order	Note, Apr. 22, 1941	Confiscation upheld
St. Matthias Abbey, Trier, and five other properties of this order	Oral, May 8, 1941	Confiscation upheld
Trinity Church, Salzburg	Oral, May 19, 1941	Church restored
General complaint about confiscation of monasteries	Oral, May 29, 1941	Rejected
Closing of four churches in Fulda and Westphalia	Memo, Aug. 14, 1941	Investigation not yet concluded
Abbey Clerf, Luxembourg	Note, July 16, 1941	Confiscation upheld

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ment of Catholics in the eastern occupied territories and in the Ostmark."[54] He was told on that occasion that "the Pope could really not be accused of lack of consideration for Germany; in actual fact his warm sympathies for Germany and his keen desire not to complicate the already difficult situation impelled him to very far-reaching reserve. The Vatican radio had dealt with only a small fraction of the actual events."[55]

In Berlin, meanwhile, a new dispute arose over the appointment of high Church officials and the right of the state to exercise control over these appointments. According to the Foreign Ministry, the concordat recognized the right of control by the state only to a limited degree,[56] and "the provisions of the Reich Concordat—in so far as they are still applicable at all—can be applied only in the Reich area as it existed at the time the Concordat was concluded in the year 1933. They are not applicable, on the other hand, in the so-called 'new Reich area.'"[57] Consequently, the government informed the Holy See, it would like to be consulted on all such appointments in the future.[58]

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the Vatican's reserve and lack of encouragement toward this "Crusade against Bolshevism" was noted with surprise in Berlin. The reason for the reserve was, of course, the government's policy toward the Church in Germany. It was feared in the Vatican, wrote Fritz Menshausen, counselor of the embassy at Rome,

> that after the defeat of Bolshevism the Catholic Church, and indeed all Christianity, would, so to speak, go from the frying pan into the fire. If the Pope

Protests by the nuncio regarding confiscation	Nature and date of protest	Result
Priests' seminary in Bensberg and Trier and five other Church buildings	Notes, Aug. 29, 1941 Feb. 9, 1942	Confiscation upheld
Mission building of the Steyler mission	Note, Aug. 29, 1941	No confiscation
Priests' home, Delbruck	Oral, Dec. 10, 1941	Confiscation upheld
Pallotine monastery, Olpe	Oral, Feb. 24, 1942	Results [of investigation] not yet available

[54] *DGFP*, Ser. D, XII, No. 674, n. 1.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*, XIII, No. 148.
[57] These were: "The Ostmark, the German Sudeten areas, the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia, the Memel area, the incorporated eastern areas, and Eupen Malmedy." The concordat was also not applicable, "in the General Government, in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Luxembourg, and in the liberated areas of Lower Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola." (*Ibid.*, No. 241; see also below, page 72.)
[58] *Ibid.*

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should now speak against Bolshevism, against which the Holy See had after all spoken repeatedly in principle, he would also have to take a position against "the anticlerical measures and tendencies hostile to Christianity in Germany"; the reports "continually received" at the Vatican on this subject provided "overwhelming material" to justify such a step; the Pope's silence was the best proof that he would like to avoid everything that would injure Germany.[59]

The Pope's reserve in Germany's fight against the Soviet Union was described by "a highly-placed person familiar with the mood in the Vatican" as follows:

When the Church policy measures in the Reich had become visibly more severe, Pius XII had believed that he could no longer be responsible for further silence on the subject. However, when the war against Soviet Russia began he had refrained from the step considered necessary in order not to injure Germany and her allies in this phase that was so decisive for the fate of the world. To go beyond this and to take sides publicly and unequivocally in the fight against Soviet Russia had been made impossible for him by Germany.[60]

And Bernardo Attolico, the Italian ambassador to the Holy See, reported to Hans Georg von Mackensen, the German ambassador in Italy, that the Pope said:

The Holy See . . . has already spoken out, in good time, on Bolshevism and has *never* changed. If anything, it is the others who have changed. Germany was first in making every effort to get along with Bolshevism: not the Holy See. But if I should talk of Bolshevism—and I would be fully prepared to do so . . . should I then say nothing about Nazism? . . . I was told long ago that in Germany they already had in mind to do away with the Vatican, because there was no place for it in the new European order. . . . I too, feel that, in view of the long duration of the war with Russia, a word from me on Bolshevism would be most beneficial and timely in Italy and the entire world; but have I said anything or perhaps published anything in *L'Osservatore Romano* about the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Münster, or that of the German Bishops? However, if some day I "must" speak, I shall speak, but I will say everything. . . . Oh, if only Germany had left me in peace . . . my attitude toward this war, especially at this time, would have been quite different.[61]

In Rome, Bergen was aware that there were strong influences from various quarters, including cardinals and priests close to the Holy See, urging the Pope constantly to follow the example of his predecessor and, in a public declaration, call attention to the persecution of the Church in Germany. Pius XI's opinion was cited, according to which silence by the Pope would be interpreted not so much as approval but rather as incomprehensible toleration which would cause utter confusion among

[59] *Ibid.*, No. 309.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Ibid.*, No. 330.

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the faithful.[62] Pius XII, according to Bergen, had so far not given in to this ever-increasing pressure. On the other hand, the never-ending complaints regarding the condition of the Church and the faithful in Germany and in the occupied territories had greatly discouraged the Pope. Then, too, he was greatly alarmed at the news that the party in Germany intended to start a general attack on the Church after the war was won. Without giving up his hopes for peace, the Pope was beginning to prepare himself for a possible struggle with the state.[63]

Among the opposing influences of which Bergen could have been aware, none was stronger than that of Harold Tittmann, American chargé d'affaires in the Vatican and assistant to Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's personal representative to the Pope. Tittmann, a great admirer of Pius XII, had repeatedly pointed out to him "the danger to his moral leadership that [he] . . . is incurring in failing to denounce the notorious violations of the moral and natural laws by the Nazis."[64] In support of the Pope's attitude, the following considerations were cited by high officials in the Vatican:

(1) There is constant pressure on the Holy See from the Axis powers to denounce alleged Allied atrocities and, because of its silence, the Holy See is often accused of being pro-Ally. The Holy See could not very well, therefore, condemn Nazi atrocities on the one hand without saying something, for instance, about Russian cruelties on the other. Many of these alleged atrocities, it is admitted, are insignificant when compared to those perpetrated by the Nazis. However, it is pointed out that it would not be an easy matter for the Holy See to distinguish degrees of violation against the moral and natural laws and, in all probability, cognizance would have to be taken of all reported violations, however great or small.

(2) If the Pope should once embark upon a policy of denunciation of all violations of the moral and natural laws in war time wherever and by whoever committed, the Holy See would be obliged to spend a great deal of its time, first in investigation and then in denunciation; it would, in fact, tend to develop into an organization whose major activity might well be the determination of facts and the adjudging of the guilty.

(3) The difficulties in assembling supporting evidence of reported violations in order to establish grounds for condemnatory action would be enormous.

(4) The public pronouncements of the Pope on the moral law must stand the test of time. The danger of error involved in descending to the particular amidst the heat of war passions is obvious.

[62] *Ibid.*, Ser. C, I, No. 501; see above, page 61.

[63] Bergen to Foreign Ministry, "Die Weihnachtsansprache des Papstes Pius XII. und die deutsch-vatikanischen Beziehungen," C 15g.Rs., Rome, Feb. 21, 1942, 535/240221–33.

[64] Tittmann to Secretary of State, Vatican City, Sept. 8, 1942, 740.00116 European War 1939/573½, in the National Archives.

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(5) The Pope has, on a number of occasions, openly condemned major offenses against morality in war time. The terms used have, it is admitted, been general, but the world knows very well to whom these words of condemnation were addressed.

(6) When members of the hierarchy [who, after all, are the representatives of the Pope] speak out, as they have already done in Germany and other countries, it should be realized that it is the voice of the Pope speaking and that this should be sufficient. It is common knowledge that when bishops make public statements on important subjects they do so with the prior approval of the Pope.

(7) The Holy See is firmly convinced that any public statement by the Pope at this time condemning Nazi activities in occupied countries, far from doing any good, would greatly worsen the already precarious situation of Catholics obliged to reside in those areas. No lives would be saved thereby, but instead, many more lost. The Vatican claims to be better informed on this phase of the matter than the Governments in exile who may wish the Pope to speak out.

Many of those who are themselves eager to have the Pope speak out realize that he cannot do so at this late date without giving the impression that he is taking sides. What the Holy Father should have done, they say, was to declare to the world at the beginning of hostilities that he intended to denounce all atrocities without exception, but that such denunciation would neither signify that he was taking sides nor affect his traditional position outside and above world political conflicts. With such a public declaration to fall back on, more resolution might be expected of the Holy Father today.[65]

In Berlin, the nuncio's numerous protestations over the situation of the Catholic Church in the occupied eastern territories and especially in occupied Poland led to a decision by Hitler to exclude these areas, together with those that were incorporated into the *Reich* after 1933, from the jurisdiction of the Holy See. The *Führer*'s decision resulted in the following directive: Government relations with the Catholic Church should *not* [italics mine] be uniform throughout the *Reich*. Relations with the Vatican pertain only to the old *Reich,* that is, those parts that were within the boundaries of Germany when the concordat of 1933 was signed. Although the concordat had been violated many times by both parties, the *Führer* considered it officially still in force. Inasmuch as the Vatican had informed the German government in its note of January 18, 1942,[66] that it could not recognize any territorial changes for the duration of the war, it had excluded itself automatically from any official relationship with those territories that were incorporated into or occupied by the *Reich* after September 1939. This should be extended to include the former Austrian state and those territories that were incorporated before September 1939 (the Saar,

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] [Note] from Papal Secretariat of State to the German embassy at the Holy See, Vatican, Jan. 18, 1942, 818/277599–609.

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the Sudeten area, Memel, Bohemia, and Moravia).[67] On the German side, the local representatives of the *Reich* (*Reichprotektor, Reichkommissar*) were to deal with the local representatives of the Church (cardinal, bishop) in these areas. No diplomatic or political contacts with the Vatican were permissible. For the rest, only the Foreign Ministry was competent to deal with the Holy See.[68]

This policy, brought to the attention of the Holy See in due time,[69] did not improve German-Vatican relations. Pius XII in particular, so Bergen reported, was hurt and upset over the numerous instances when his diplomatic notes had remained unanswered. He considered this, as well as the latest restrictions, a personal slight, and the continuous confiscations of Church property in Germany did nothing to alleviate this situation. The effects on Italy, too, were most unfortunate from the Axis point of view.[70] Bergen's report drew an immediate and sharp reaction from Ribbentrop. He asked the ambassador to oppose in the strongest terms any notions that German-Vatican relations were deteriorating. Regarding confiscations of Church properties, they had not only decreased, but, since June 30, 1941, had ceased altogether.[71] The few cases that had occurred recently and that might occur in the future were owing to the time lag between confiscation and dispossession. Besides, these confiscations, as was well known in Rome, were ordered by the state because they involved members of the Catholic Church engaged in activities against the state, such as distribution of enemy leaflets, immoral behavior, or hoarding of scarce items. In other cases, properties or buildings were needed for the war effort and were taken over according to existing laws and regulations. Where Church buildings were closed in connection with such actions, they were reinstated whenever possible. As to the restriction of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the old *Reich,* Ribbentrop reiterated the argument that the Vatican refused to recognize territorial changes during the war. The Foreign Minister was most emphatic in rejecting the charge that Germany was making relations more difficult and asserted that the government did not wish any deterioration in its dealings with the Holy See. Future German-Vatican relations could deteriorate only through

[67] See above, page 69.

[68] Hewel Memo, Munich, June 11, 1942, 819/278181–82; see also *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1942,* ed. Gerhard Ritter (Bonn, 1951), 370–75 (entry for July 4, 1942). The embassy at the Vatican was advised of Hitler's decision by telegram no. 52, June 22, 1942, 819/278226–29.

[69] Weizsäcker Memo, June 25, 1942, 818/277391–92.

[70] Bergen to Foreign Ministry, telegram no. 264, Oct. 11, 1942, 818/277469–71.

[71] See *DGFP,* Ser. D, XIII, No. 340, encl. 2.

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a policy initiated by the Vatican. In that case, Germany would have to act accordingly.[72] But Ribbentrop, it seemed, had second thoughts on this matter. Other events also intervened: El Alamein, Stalingrad, the Allied landings in North Africa. Whatever the reasons, the directive was sent only the following January (1943) and then in a slightly modified version.[73] In his reply, Bergen assured Ribbentrop that the Vatican would not let relations deteriorate further and that the Pope had expressed his willingness to postpone a general settlement with Germany until after the war.[74] Ribbentrop seemed satisfied, though he reminded Bergen that an aggravation of diplomatic relations would also be to the disadvantage of the Holy See, and he threatened that "the Reich Government was neither lacking in propaganda material nor in actual ways and means to reciprocate effectively every attempted blow by the Vatican against Germany."[75] To this, Bergen observed that Pius XII was as little intimidated by threats as the German government. Should a struggle ensue, a great number of Catholics would probably desert the Church, but the Pope was convinced that the remaining majority, now purified, would stand fast and that the clergy would be ready for any and all sacrifices. Still, as an apostle of peace, the Pope would like to avoid such a struggle, especially to save millions of Catholics a conflict of conscience.[76]

In his annual Christmas message on December 24, 1942,[77] the Pope looked ahead to a better world after the war and spoke "of the fundamental laws of the internal order of States and peoples."[78] He also mentioned, toward the end of his message, "the hundreds of thousands of persons who, without any fault on their part, sometimes only because of their nationality or race, have been consigned to death or to a slow decline."[79] With this, Pius XII believed he had publicly condemned the Nazi atrocities to the satisfaction of all who had pressed him to do so in the past. When Tittmann, a few days later, expressed his doubts about the effectiveness of this particular phrase, the Pope seemed genuinely surprised. "He [the Pope] said that he thought that it was plain to everyone that he was referring to the Poles, [and] Jews. . . . He explained that when talking of atrocities

[72] Ribbentrop to Bergen, telegram [n.n.], Berlin, Oct. 24, 1942, 818/277499–502. This telegram was not sent; only a draft exists.

[73] Ribbentrop to Bergen, Special Train, telegram no. 123, Jan. 13, 1943, 819/277646–48. The text of this telegram was largely identical with the one of Oct. 24, 1942; only the introductory paragraph was expanded and the ending slightly changed.

[74] Bergen to Ribbentrop, telegram no. 12, Rome, Jan. 15, 1943, 819/277649–51.

[75] Ribbentrop to Bergen, Special Train, telegram no. 181, Jan. 24, 1943, 819/277666–67.

[76] Bergen to Ribbentrop, telegram no. 29, Rome, Jan. 25, 1943, 819/277668–70.

[77] Text in *Principles of Peace*, 789–806.

[78] *Ibid.*, 791.

[79] *Ibid.*, 804.

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he could not name the Nazis without at the same time mentioning the Bolsheviks and this he thought might not be wholly pleasing to the Allies."[80]

In the spring of 1943 Bergen was recalled, and Ernst von Weizsäcker, State Secretary in the Foreign Ministry, was appointed in his place. The reasons for this change are not entirely clear. In his memoirs Weizsäcker is rather vague and implies that Ribbentrop had wanted to get rid of him for a long time and that Ribbentrop's quarrel with Martin Luther (then head of the department of German internal affairs in the Foreign Ministry) and the latter's dismissal and arrest provided an opportunity for a general reshuffling of assignments.[81] Weizsäcker also implies that he went to Rome to discuss possibilities for a peace.[82] Ribbentrop, however, writes in his memoirs that he needed a man in Weizsäcker's position who could cooperate more closely with the party in Berlin.[83] Bergen, too, had been in disfavor in party circles for a long time,[84] and this change of assignments seemed to have been an opportunity to get rid of him as well.[85]

The Holy See was less enthusiastic about this change and would have preferred to keep Bergen at least until the end of the war.[86] Weizsäcker's first conversation with the Pope covered only very general ground. Pius XII talked about the happy times he had spent in Germany as apostolic nuncio, about German-Vatican relations, and about the foolishness of the Allied "unconditional" surrender formula. Weizsäcker stressed the German efforts against Bolshevism, and, when the Pope mentioned that there were no indications of any fruitful peace negotiations, the ambassador stated that his government expected none.[87]

With the Allied armies in possession of Sicily and the Fascist regime in Italy about to fall, the Vatican's principal concern, according to German reports, was the danger of a Bolshevization of Europe. The British attitude was characterized in Vatican circles as coldly arrogant (*kaltschnäuzig*), and of the United States many disparaging remarks were being made.

[80] US State Department, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1943* (6 vols., Washington, D. C., 1963–), II, 912.

[81] Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1950), 345.

[82] *Ibid.*, 356; see also *DGFP*, Ser. D, XIII, No. 315, n. 8.

[83] Joachim von Ribbentrop, *Zwischen London und Moskau* (Leoni, 1953), 278–79.

[84] See *DGFP*, Ser. D, I, No. 672.

[85] From the published German documents it seems clear that there was no agreed uniform policy within the German government toward the Holy See. Various departments and agencies concerned themselves with German-Vatican relations. In addition to the Foreign Ministry there was the Party Chancellery, the Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Ministry for the Occupied Territories, the Ministry of the Interior, and a number of party offices and functionaries on lower levels.

[86] Bergen to Weizsäcker, letter, Rome, Apr. 6, 1943, 819/277724–26.

[87] Weizsäcker to Foreign Ministry, telegram no. 271, Rome, July 5, 1943, 819/277860–61.

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The Soviet Union, however, was and remained the archenemy. Under these circumstances it was easy for Weizsäcker to put Germany's struggle against the Soviet Union in its proper light. The Vatican, on its side, was concerned that the formidable task of defending Europe against the Communist danger would exceed German means and resources, and, thus, Germany would be unable to terminate the war successfully. Vatican policy, according to Weizsäcker, now pursued these aims:

(1) A speedy conclusion of the war was necessary; if not of the general war, at least among the civilized nations of the West.

(2) A permanent peace was necessary. This was only possible with the renunciation of all imperialistic demands.

(3) It was the task of the Holy See now to council publicly for moderation, especially and emphatically through diplomatic channels in London and Washington.

(4) It was not the task of the Holy See to engage in mediation as long as one of the two groups [the Anglo-American or the German-Italian] did not request such a service. The Holy See particularly did not want to gain the reputation of acting unilaterally for Italy and contributing to the dissolution of the Axis.

(5) It was not the task of the Holy See, for the time being, to act on its own initiative and, following the example of Benedict XV in the last war, to make detailed proposals for a general peace. The failure of that attempt was still being remembered vividly.[88]

Weizsäcker also reported that rumors from Lisbon about Vatican action for a common Catholic peace movement in favor of Italy were untrue. It was equally denied that Francis D. G. Osborne, the British minister at the Holy See, had had talks with the Secretary of State, Luigi Cardinal Maglione, concerning mediations for a separate peace with Italy. Likewise, reports from Paris that the Holy See was trying to achieve peace for Italy, on the basis of a neutralization of the Apennine Peninsula, were without foundation. The politicians in the Vatican did not make such mistakes, Weizsäcker assured the Foreign Ministry. They realized that Germany would not get out of Italy voluntarily. While the Pope strongly desired peace and would like to make a decisive contribution toward bringing it about, he was much concerned about his authority and his prestige and would not risk failure by an untimely step in this direction. In diplomatic matters Pius XII was a temporizer.[89]

Early in October news reached Rome that the Jews of the city would

[88] Weizsäcker to Foreign Ministry, telegram no. 387, Rome, Aug. 30, 1943, 5825/E424200–203.

[89] *Ibid.*

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be arrested by the SS and taken to northern Italy to be killed.[90] Moellhausen, the German consul in Rome, informed Ribbentrop of this plan and added that General Rainer Stahel, the commanding German general in Rome, would approve these measures only if the Foreign Minister agreed to them.[91] In a second message, Moellhausen informed Ribbentrop that Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, the commanding general in Italy, had asked the SS to delay its action and had suggested that the Jews be utilized to build fortifications.[92] But Ribbentrop had little to say in this matter. The SS plan was based on a decision by the *Führer,* and in accordance with it, the Jews were to be taken to the concentration camp at Mauthausen as hostages. This was to be entirely an SS operation, and Ribbentrop asked Rudolf Rahn (the German ambassador in Italy) and Moellhausen not to get mixed up in the operation under any circumstances.[93] The operation started in the early hours of October 16. Rome's total Jewish population at that time was about 8,000; of these, 1,007[94] were arrested and transported to the extermination camps at Auschwitz.[95] The rest managed to escape the SS, and most of them found refuge in the Vatican or in buildings belonging to the Vatican outside the limits of the Holy City.[96] Later the same day, Bishop Alois Hudal, rector of the German Catholic Church in Rome, sent a letter to General Stahel in which he told Stahel that he had learned about the arrests of Italian Jews in Rome from a source in the Vatican close to the Pope. In the interest of the good relations between the Vatican and the military commandant of Rome, Hudal asked "that the arrests in Rome and vicinity be stopped forthwith; I fear [Hudal continued] that otherwise the Pope will have to make a public pronouncement [against this action] which will be used by anti-German propaganda as a weapon against us Germans."[97]

The Vatican, Weizsäcker reported on the following day, was particularly shocked "because the operation took place, so to speak, under the windows of the Pope. The reaction might have been less violent if the Jews had been used for forced labor within Italy."[98] Anti-German

[90] For this and the following, see Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago, 1961), 428 ff.
[91] Moellhausen to Ribbentrop, telegram no. 192, Rome, Oct. 6, 1943, 5789/E421525.
[92] Moellhausen to Ribbentrop, telegram no. 201, Rome, Oct. 7, 1943, 5789/E421524.
[93] Sonnleithner [Special Train] Westfalen to *Ministerbüro* [Berlin], teletype no. 1645, Oct. 9, 1943, 5789/E421522.
[94] Report of Kappler to Wolff, Berlin, Oct. 18, 1943, unpublished Nüremberg document 2427-NO, in the National Archives.
[95] Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews,* 429, n. 406.
[96] *Ibid.,* 429.
[97] Gumpert to Foreign Ministry, telegram no. 330, Rome, Oct. 16, 1943, 5789/E421514.
[98] Weizsäcker to Foreign Ministry, telegram no. 147, Rome, Oct. 17, 1943, 5789/E421512.

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circles were utilizing this event, Weizsäcker went on, to get the Vatican to abandon its reserve in this matter. The case of the French bishops who, in a similar situation had taken a strong stand, was cited. The Pope, as head of the Church and bishop of Rome, could do no less. He was also compared to the much more impetuous Pius XI.[99] Pius XII, however, said nothing. Though pressed from various quarters, he did not protest the transport of Jews from Rome.

> Although he must expect that this attitude will be resented by our opponents and will be exploited for propaganda purposes against Catholicism by Protestant circles in Anglo-Saxon countries, he had done everything in this very touchy question so as not to aggravate his relationship with the German Government and with the German authorities in Rome. Because it was unlikely that further operations against Jews could be carried out in Rome, it could be expected that this, for German-Vatican relations so unpleasant episode, has been disposed of.[100]

Indications to this effect could be detected in an official notice in the *Osservatore Romano* of October 25–26, which described the Pope's charitable activities. These, the article pointed out, had increased considerably and were extended to all human beings regardless of nationality, religion, or race. "Against this publication," Weizsäcker wrote, "no protests should be made because . . . the wording was such that only very few will recognize the special allusion to the Jewish question."[101]

From the available evidence it is clear that Pius XII, who loved Germany and the Germans, had no illusion about the true nature of National Socialism and was fully aware of the threat that a victorious Third *Reich* would pose to the Church. He was, like others at the time, after a Soviet victory appeared possible, caught in the dilemma of having to choose between National Socialism and Bolshevism. Believing the latter to be the greater evil, Pius XII was reluctant publicly to condemn the former. To this was added his desire to bring about a just peace, and for this reason he was apparently unwilling to antagonize either party.

> His best defense has been written by the man [Cardinal Domenico Tardini] who saw him wrestle with the indecision to which he was prone, determined to protect his prospects as a possible mediator, that he might assist in putting an end to the suffering of humanity. He was not asked—and herein, as Vicar of the Prince of Peace, lay his greatest suffering.[102]

[99] *Ibid.*
[100] Weizsäcker to Foreign Ministry, report A 1275, Rome, Oct. 28, 1943, 5789/E421515–17.
[101] *Ibid.*; see also Lewy, *Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, 302.
[102] J. G. Clancy, *Apostle for Our Time, Pope Paul VI* (New York, 1963), 60.

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The Recovery of American Religious History

HENRY F. MAY*

FOR the study and understanding of American culture, the recovery of American religious history may well be the most important achievement of the last thirty years. A vast and crucial area of American experience has been rescued from neglect and misunderstanding. Puritanism, Edwardsian Calvinism, revivalism, liberalism, modernism, and the social gospel have all been brought down out of the attic and put back in the historical front parlor. Out of monographic research on these and other topics, it begins to be possible to build a convincing synthesis, a synthesis independent of political history, though never unrelated to it.[1]

Even for those students of American culture who do not find religious thought and practice intrinsically interesting, knowledge of religious history has become a necessity. This is most obviously the case for those interested in American intellectual history. In the first place, the recovery of American religious history has restored a knowledge of the mode, even the language, in which most Americans, during most of American history, did their thinking about human nature and destiny. In the second place, the recovery has necessitated, though it has not yet really affected, a reorganization. Obviously the categories of V. L. Parrington, once so satisfactory, will no longer work. One cannot, for instance, oppose "French" liberalism to Calvinist conservatism as the poles between which to classify both political and religious thought in the early national period. What is one to do with orthodox clergy who supported the American and for long defended the

* Mr. May, Margaret Byrne Professor of American History, University of California, Berkeley, read an earlier version of this article at a meeting of the American Studies Association, Pacific Coast Branch, at Fresno, California, in 1959. He wrote *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York, 1949).

[1] Such a synthesis is not yet published. Most of the important contributions to the recovery have as yet been monographic or critical. Students have, however, been provided with a superb bibliography, a first-rate atlas, and one of the most illuminating of source collections: Nelson R. Burr, *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1957); Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, 1962); H. Shelton Smith *et al., American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents* (2 vols., New York, 1960). The Burr bibliography makes it unnecessary, as it would in any case be impossible, to mention all the significant works in any category discussed in this article.

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French Revolution, with Whig conservatives who were Unitarians, or with doctrinally conservative Presbyterians who took the side of Jackson in politics? There are too many exceptions: they destroy instead of proving the rules. Nor can one talk any longer, without important qualifications, about an "American faith" in which optimism about man is inescapably linked to democracy. To insist on such a link, one has to rule out of the American democratic tradition not only such "belletristic" aberrants as Henry James, Hawthorne, Poe, and Melville, not only such political exceptions as Calhoun or Henry Adams, but also John Adams and Madison, which is difficult, and both Lincoln and Mark Twain, which is downright impossible.[2] To summarize the central American tradition has become a far more difficult task than it once was, and a far more interesting one.

Restoring a language and shaking up a set of categories are not the only changes wrought in intellectual history by the recovery of religious history. By analogy the work of religious historians illuminates two major perennial problems of the American intellectual historian. The first of these is the relation of American to European thought. Obviously American church history cannot be studied without reference to the Reformation, and thus to European thought since (or perhaps before) the patristic period. Yet, as Tocqueville, Schaff, and Bryce saw and as lesser European commentators have often not understood, American religion cannot be forced into European categories. Like many other kinds of American experience, religious experience serves both as link and barrier between the continents.

The other problem of intellectual history illuminated by the example of religious history is the even more difficult one of the relation between ideas and institutions. For this the history of American Protestantism, with its long effort to institutionalize successive religious impulses, offers also some highly interesting suggestions.[3]

That part of literary history which lies closest to intellectual history has been transformed with it, or even before it.[4] At an opposite pole in American studies, the analysis of American class structure has been enriched. Sociologists must study church history and even theology. Simple lines between denominations will no longer do; to locate someone in American society it

[2] Henry Nash Smith, *Mark Twain, The Development of a Writer* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), seems to have the last word on the much-argued question of Clemens' pessimism. A recent contribution to the large and growing literature on Lincoln's complex religious views is William J. Wolf, *The Almost Chosen People* (New York, 1959). Though the mature views of the two men are in many ways opposite, I think it legitimate to call both post-Calvinist.

[3] See below, page 85–86.

[4] See below, pages 84–85, and also the section, "Religion and Literature," in Burr, *Critical Bibliography*, II, 847–953.

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is necessary to say what *kind* of a Baptist or Presbyterian he is, and where, in religious and other terms, he comes from.[5] Historians of our two greatest political crises have revived a religious interpretation of each.[6] Theorists of American foreign policy—including some theorists not far removed from the scene of action—frequently invoke kinds of thought that were originally theological.[7]

Of the several meanings intended by the title of this article most historians will, I think, readily admit the fact of an increased emphasis on religious history. Many have also observed—whether or not they have approved—the emergence of a more sympathetic assessment of American religious experience. Here consensus stops; historians disagree about the causes of these related changes. Part of the disagreement is inevitably ideological; part arises from the complexity of the subject. In American historiography, as in American religion, categories shift and change. Yet categories are necessary, and a look back at major names and dates suggests a few.

The recovery of American religious history really began in the 1930's. In the twenties, nineteenth-century "scientific" history was being challenged by the brilliant agnostic relativism of Becker, the fervent progressivism of Parrington, and the somewhat selective determinism of Beard.[8] "Puritanism,"

[5] A good short list of works on "Church and Class" by sociologists and historians will be found *ibid.*, 606–10. An example of effective use, by a historian, of religious categories for social analysis is Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, N. J., 1961), esp. 186–207.

[6] A religious interpretation of the Revolution is reasserted by Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689–1775* (New York, 1962). A religious, or partly religious explanation of the Civil War seems to me to rest on two assertions: that serious and intractable moral conflicts were important in causing the war and that in nineteenth-century America such conflicts were peculiarly difficult to avoid or compromise because of the dominance of evangelical Protestantism in both sections. The importance of the moral conflict is implied by much though not all recent writing on slavery and anti-slavery, and directly argued in the well-known articles of 1946 and 1949 by Bernard DeVoto and A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. (Bernard DeVoto, "The Easy Chair," *Harper's,* CXCII [Feb., Mar. 1946], 123–26, 234–37; A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Causes of the Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism," *Partisan Review,* XVI [Sept. 1949], 969–81.) The distinct importance of religion in sharpening the conflict is forcefully argued, with respect to the South, by Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "The Travail of Slavery," in *The Southerner as American,* ed. *id.* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1960), 40–71.

[7] McGeorge Bundy calls Reinhold Niebuhr "probably the most influential single mind in the development of American attitudes which combine moral purpose with a sense of political reality," though he is not uncritical of Niebuhr. (McGeorge Bundy, "Foreign Policy: From Innocence to Engagement," in *Paths of American Thought,* ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Morton White [Boston, 1963], 293–308.)

[8] In an interesting article tracing schools of American intellectual history, Robert Alan Skotheim suggests that the school of historians dominant in the twenties and afterward tended to regard some ideas as determined by the socioeconomic environment, and others as possessing autonomous causal importance. Religious ideas, to which men of this school were generally unsympathetic, were usually in the first of these categories, while scientific ideas and proposals for social reform tended to be placed in the second. On the other hand, says Skotheim, some later writers including Perry Miller seemed to make religious thought autonomous and causative, and to treat opposing secular currents as environmental in origin. (Robert Alan

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and the larger religious tradition loosely associated with it, was under heavy attack inside and outside historical circles. Harold Stearns explained in 1922 that there was no article on religion in his *Civilization in the United States* because he could find no one interested in the topic.[9] This was a Menckenesque exaggeration, but it was true that American religion, aside from the dramatic forays of the fundamentalists, did not look very interesting. The dominant liberal Protestantism was reaching the end of a long, ignominious, and unsuccessful effort to accommodate its teaching at any cost to the ultrasecular culture of the day.[10]

Seminary historians played their parts in this effort at accommodation, trying hard to follow the lead of the dominant university historians. Most of them, attempting to be neutral and "scientific," produced factual monographs limited by denominational lines. The two best-known general histories of American religion written during the period, those by H. K. Rowe (1924) and W. W. Sweet (1930), followed the lead of standard secular interpretation. Rowe emphasized the growth of liberalism and religious freedom, Sweet, the frontier. Both works were respectable; neither was highly original.[11]

In the thirties, when the recovery began, a student who wanted a treatment of American religious history with some feeling for theology had to go back beyond the twenties to such books as F. H. Foster's *Genetic History of New England Theology* (Chicago, 1907) or Leonard Bacon's *History of American Christianity* (New York, 1897). If he wanted to investigate religious experience, he invariably started with William James's unique and curious classic of 1902. Only for the topic of religion and social class—a topic that interested him greatly—did he have a first-rate recent work, H. Richard Niebuhr's *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929), which applied to American religion the insights of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch.

In this atmosphere, the recovery of American religious history was begun by the only people in a position to undertake it, the immensely energetic secular scholars of the day. To men schooled in objective examination of, as

Skotheim, "The Writing of American Histories of Ideas: Two Traditions in the xxth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXV [Apr.–June 1964], 257–78.)

[9] *Civilization in the United States*, ed. Harold Stearns (New York, 1922), v–vi.

[10] For excellent accounts of American religion in this period, see Robert T. Handy, "The American Religious Depression, 1925–1935," *Church History*, XXIX (Mar. 1960), 3–16; and Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953), 195–225.

[11] The foregoing paragraph and some other parts of this article owe much to the illuminating essay on "Church History" by George Huntston Williams in *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Arnold S. Nash (New York, 1941), 147–78.

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nearly as possible, *all* the data, religion was too big to be ignored in the flippant manner of a Harold Stearns. Herbert Schneider, who occupied a chair of religion at Columbia University, treated the American religious past with much learning.[12] At the end of the period Ralph Henry Gabriel in *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940) gave religion a much more active constituent role in intellectual history than had Parrington, though he too discussed religious ideas without much theological analysis.[13]

The best-informed and most influential student of American social history was A. M. Schlesinger, who says with great candor in his recent autobiography that the central questions of religious thought have never held much interest for him.[14] Accepting nonetheless readily the importance of religion for most Americans in the past, Schlesinger directed toward this field the efforts of many students, all of whom did their best to penetrate its obscure shadows with the clear light of objective research. In an influential essay of 1932,[15] Schlesinger himself applied to religious history the insight that was shortly to inform his *Rise of the City*. In the neglected period of the late nineteenth century, he said, American religion had undergone a series of highly important reactions: to Darwinism, higher criticism, comparative religion, and, most important of all, to the challenge of the city.

Commenting much later on this essay and its influence, one of the current group of able seminary historians finds its insight useful and important even from his own very different point of view.[16] Nevertheless, says this later critic, Schlesinger's description of the church transforming itself in response to the urban challenge, like Sweet's description of the church reacting to the frontier, makes the role of the church too passive and neglects inner changes not entirely determined by these external pressures. Whatever the merits of this criticism and the now widespread view it implies, the rescue of religious history was largely begun, as it had to be, from a secular point of view not unlike that of Schlesinger.

[12] Herbert Schneider, *The Puritan Mind* (New York, 1930). In his later *History of American Philosophy* (New York, 1946) Schneider himself generously criticized this early work in the light of Perry Miller's later research. (See pages 28, 29.)

[13] Skotheim points out that Gabriel treated American religion with great respect even in essays published in the mid-twenties. Gabriel's interpretation of American intellectual history seems to me to belong neither to the dominant secular and environmentalist movement, nor to the later countermovement to which Skotheim assigns it, but to have some characteristics of both. (Skotheim, "Writing of American Histories of Ideas," 275–77.)

[14] A. M. Schlesinger, *In Retrospect: The History of a Historian* (New York, 1963), 193.

[15] *Id.*, "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875–1900," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXIV (1930–32), 523–47.

[16] Robert T. Handy, "The Protestant Quest for a Christian America, 1830–1930," *Church History*, XXII (Mar. 1953), 10.

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Though secular and academic historians dominated this stage of the recovery until after World War II, two quite different tendencies of the thirties foreshadowed a challenge to this domination. The first was the expansion and reorientation of the study of American literature. Still full of the revolts and rejections of the twenties, but discontented with the simple categories of the past and only partly satisfied with the Marxist stereotypes of the present, many of the best young students were fascinated by the complexities, doubts, and inner struggles of writers like Melville, Hawthorne, and James. Nothing, they found, could be farther from the truth than the facile dictum of Howells, still faithfully echoed in very recent years, that American literature dealt characteristically with the surface, "smiling aspects of life." Sometimes venturing beyond American literature into one of the new programs in American studies, students coming from literature departments encountered (more often than history graduate students of this period) the infinitely complex world of recent historical thought, from Mannheim to Whitehead or Collingwood. Admiring complexity and uncompromising intellectual struggle, some of them discovered a new field: theology. To literary intellectuals of the thirties, theology was approachable partly because it seemed to have so little to do with religion, especially the religion of the First Methodist Church in the generic home town.

In the study of religious thought in American literature or culture, students of this kind found gifted mentors. One was F. O. Matthiessen, immensely attractive as a scholar and leader to this generation, and far more passionately interested than most of his students in the relation between social radicalism and religious commitment.[17] Even more important for the systematic study of American religious thought was Perry Miller. In 1928, consciously defying the advice of his own teachers and the Menckenian prejudices of the times, Miller had begun his gigantic excavation of Puritanism.[18] In many ways a product of the alienated and tormented twenties, an atheist and something of a radical, Miller yet went to work to rescue Puritan and Calvinist thought with a relish for all its paradoxes and tensions, and with a zeal, sometimes with a polemic intensity, comparable almost to that of Edwards himself. Surely the result of his labor, deepening the history of the American mind in a chronological sense as well as in

[17] See *F. O. Matthiessen 1902–1950: A Collective Portrait,* ed. Paul M. Sweezy and Leo Huberman (New York, 1950).

[18] See Miller's introduction to the paperback edition of his *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1959), xvii. Other scholars, some of them preceding Miller, played some part in the reassessment both of the Puritans and of Edwards, but I believe few would deny him the major role in this enterprise.

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others, must be one of the most enduring as well as one of the strangest monuments of the radical thirties.

The other development that began in the 1930's to suggest the rise of a new kind of religious history was the turn toward neo-orthodoxy within Protestantism itself. Like Edwards and many other American religious figures, Reinhold Niebuhr, the central American figure in this diverse movement, drew heavily on contemporary European thought. But, again like Edwards and many other prophets, he started by reacting to the smug society he encountered around him. It was not Auschwitz or Hiroshima, but Detroit in the twenties that started Niebuhr on the road away from accommodation and optimism and toward a belief in a world under judgment.[19] Thus there is something in common between Niebuhr's rejections and those of contemporary literary critics, though very little that is common in their respective affirmations.

Two very different works in American religious history reflected a neo-orthodox emphasis in this period of beginnings. The first was Joseph Haroutunian's study of American Calvinist theology, *Piety vs. Moralism* (New York, 1932). Only a book written, like this one, from a neo-orthodox point of view could at this moment have restored meaning to the long-neglected family fights of New England divines, distinguishing in their thought between the new and the merely orthodox. The other historical work that reflected the new theological tendency was H. Richard Niebuhr's *The Kingdom of God in America,* eventually to become one of the most influential books in the whole field. In his introduction, Niebuhr criticized his own much-admired *Social Sources of Denominationalism*. A sociological approach like that of the earlier book, he now said, "helped to explain why the religious stream flowed in these particular channels," but failed to "account for the force of the stream itself."[20] American Christianity should be treated not as a series of institutions but as a prophetic movement, never completely embodied in any institutional forms, liable to decay but capable of perennial self-renewal. This deeply Protestant view of church history was to influence many of the ablest religious historians of the next period. Shorn of some of its religious meaning, Niebuhr's suggestion was usable by historians of other kinds of ideas and institutions.[21] Might not his idea of a

[19] See Reinhold Niebuhr, *Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic* (New York, 1930); June Bingham, *Courage to Change, An Introduction to the Life and Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr* (New York, 1961), 129–39.

[20] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (New York, 1937), vii.

[21] This is suggested by John Higham, "American Intellectual History: A Critical Appraisal," *American Quarterly,* XIII (No. 2, 1961), 232.

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cycle of reform, organization, decline, and renewal illuminate the fate of many kinds of ideas in a fluid and energetic society? One might suggest progressive education, temperance, conservation—almost any American movement, perhaps including political democracy itself—as test cases.

In the period since the Second World War, the period of fruition that succeeded this one of preparation, all the influences already active continued to operate. Social historians, among them students of both Schlesingers, of Oscar Handlin, of Richard Hofstadter, and others, continued to deal with the history of American religion from a largely secular point of view. A flood of monographs continued to analyze American literature in more and more specifically religious terms. The influence of neo-orthodoxy, spreading like other major movements in American thought from a small center ever more widely, affected historical writing on all sorts of subjects. The clear and acknowledged influence of Reinhold Niebuhr on Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., C. Vann Woodward, and George F. Kennan suggests the dimensions of this periphery.[22]

Three new influences must be added to the list. The first is the development of a new kind of intellectual history, or, more accurately, the revival of an old one. The new intellectual history places more emphasis on the analysis of ideas and less on description of their social antecedents.[23] Needed and overdue, this tendency may sometimes have gone too far, detaching one part of human experience from another in a somewhat mechanical manner, and talking too simply about the influence of one book an another. In any case, much of the new intellectual history has avoided the opposite error of treating ideas, religious ideas included, as simple responses to clearly identifiable stimuli.

The second postwar development that affected religious history came from an opposite quarter and was perhaps complementary. Sociologists and

[22] See Schlesinger, "Causes of the Civil War"; C. Vann Woodward, "The Irony of Southern History," *Journal of Southern History,* XIX (Feb. 1953), 3–19; George F. Kennan, *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin* (Boston, 1961), *passim*. The more direct influence of neo-orthodoxy on the writing of European history, especially religious history, is excellently analyzed by E. Harris Harbison, "The 'Meaning of History' and the Writing of History," *Church History,* XXI (June 1952), 197–207.

[23] Two articles by John Higham reflect the development discussed here. In "Intellectual History and Its Neighbors," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XV (June 1954), 339–47, he distinguishes between "internal" and "external" intellectual history in a neutral manner. In "American Intellectual History: A Critical Appraisal," he seems to come down on the side of more internal analysis and specifically relates this tendency to the recent rise of American religious history. The same tendency is discussed in detail by Skotheim, who finds that by 1950 both the older and the newer historians were turning away from environmentalism and toward a somewhat more autonomous treatment of ideas. Skotheim attributes this change in large part to the failure of relativism to prove adequate in the political crisis of the 1940's. This analysis seems to me sound except that the change referred to was under way in some quarters before that crisis. (Skotheim, "Writing of American Histories of Ideas," 277–78.)

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social historians, among them David Riesman and Oscar Handlin, developed a new kind of analysis and criticism of American society, emphasizing the search for identity among the pressures of a plural, yet sometimes conformist society. To some students of American religion, this suggested a new interpretation of the past and present role of religious groups.[24]

The third new influence, pervasive and complex, was the religious revival of the 1950's. The nature and even the existence of this revival have been endlessly debated. Was there any connection between such phenomena as swelling church statistics, highly successful traditional revivalism, best-selling and sugary "peace-of-mind" manuals, semiofficial association of God with American foreign policy, and gingerly, reluctant inquiry into the religious turn of "intellectuals" carried out by the editors of the *Partisan Review*? Could any of these have any connection with the devastating disjunctions of Karl Barth or the tragic view of history propounded by Reinhold Niebuhr? Was this really a revival of religion, or only a search for identity on the part of third generation immigrants or other-directed exurbanites?

At least three aspects of this complex phenomenon must be taken into consideration for our present purposes. First was the new realization of American religion's numerical growth, both short-term and long-term. According to widely cited reports, more than 60 per cent of the population were now church members, as opposed to 5 per cent in 1776 and 35 per cent in 1900. How far to accept either the accuracy or the implications of these figures was a complex question. Yet it was clear that one could no longer talk about American religion as something that used to be important. At least according to the most concrete indexes—numbers, buildings, and money—it was a spectacular success. One exaggerated but suggestive interpretation said that rapid growth had from the beginning determined the whole nature of American Protestantism. The American churches were not branches of European Christendom, but new churches, with the good and bad characteristics of new churches everywhere.[25]

A second element of the revival was the continuing vitalization of theology. One historian had this to say:

[24] See, for instance, Will Herberg's acute and influential *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, N. Y., 1955).

[25] Franklin H. Littell, *From State Church to Pluralism* (New York, 1962). For the percentage figures, see *Yearbook of the American Churches*, 1963 ed. (New York, 1963), 276, and 1933 ed. (New York, 1933), 99. As the editors of these compilations point out, criteria of membership vary drastically from church to church and period to period. Probably the statistics of the recent growth are more acceptable than the older ones. S. M. Lipset argues plausibly that American religion has experienced a "continuous boom" from the beginning rather than a specially sharp recent increase. (S. M. Lipset, *The First New Nation* [New York, 1963], 144–47.)

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One must go back to the sixteenth century to find an era of equal theological fertility and creativeness. In America it is at least a century and a half since theologians held a position of such importance in our national thought. Now that John Dewey is dead there is in the United States scarcely a single philosopher of public eminence who is confronting the traditional "problems of man" as comprehensively as are at least a half-dozen theologians.[26]

Often the theological renaissance and the popular growth seemed opposed rather than complementary; no one criticized so harshly the easy, amorphous popular "faith in faith" as those who had for some time been demanding faith in something more specific and difficult. Yet some highly sophisticated historians of religion concluded that this revival, with its depths and shallows, its center and periphery, was not altogether different from revivals in the past.[27]

A third fact about this revival, which did seem to differentiate it somewhat from its predecessors, was the complexity of its effect on American intellectuals. As with some of the earlier revivals, a great many intellectuals remained hostile to this one in all its aspects. Others, including poets, novelists, and a few historians, stood fundamentally within it. A large number, however, and the most important group for our present purposes, belonged in neither of these opposing camps. As Sydney Ahlstrom put it, "curiosity about religion" penetrated intellectual circles far beyond the ranks of the committed. This "curiosity" might "lead a person merely to taste some popular book, to take up the study of some religious poet, or to dedicate himself to a lifetime vocation of religious research."[28] In the middle of the twentieth century, that is, not everyone could find himself at home either among believers or militant secularists.

The consequences of these diverse changes were themselves diverse. The first was a new understanding of the nature of the mainstream of American religious history. In the thirties, many students of American religion had understandably admired Puritanism and Edwardsian Calvinism and disliked revivalism. Now it seemed clear that (as Miller's own work had indicated) both Covenant Theology and Consistent Calvinism had been brilliant, heroic, but unsuccessful attempts to channel the turbulent flood

[26] Sydney Ahlstrom, "The Levels of Religious Revival," *Confluence*, IV (Apr. 1955), 41.

[27] A generally hostile assessment of the popular revival can be found in Martin Marty, *The New Shape of American Religion* (New York, 1959), and a still harsher one is A. Roy Eckhardt, *The Surge of Piety in America* (New York, 1958). A more balanced treatment, in my opinion, is Ahlstrom's "Levels of Religious Revival." The revival of the fifties is related to earlier revivals in Timothy L. Smith, "Historic Waves of Religious Interest in America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCCXXXII (Nov. 1960), 9–19.

[28] Sydney Ahlstrom, "Theology and the Present-Day Revival," *ibid.*, 27.

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of American religious energy. The mainstream, for better or worse, had been revivalistic, emotional, even somewhat pragmatic. Faced with the task of evangelizing an unchurched continent, of combatting not only infidelity but barbarism, first on the frontier and then in the cities, the American churches had indeed compromised theological differences. So far had this process gone that they had almost lost their distinctive task and message. But when adaptation had gone too far, self-criticism had restored some balance, in the early eighteenth century, in the late nineteenth century, again in the mid-twentieth century.

Obviously this reorientation owed much to the past insights of Sweet, Schlesinger, and Richard Niebuhr. It owed much also to the new investigation of revivalism by such lay historians as W. G. McLoughlin, Jr., and Bernard Weisberger.[29] Still more important, however, were the insights of Timothy Smith, himself a minister, and the seminary historians Sidney Mead and Winthrop S. Hudson. All these saw the past tasks of American religion as men who had a more than academic concern with its present pastoral duties. And all looked at revivals from the midst of a period of revival.

Smith found much of the vitality of American nineteenth-century religion in the perfectionist tradition. It was the belief in the possibility of perfect holiness, he argued, that furnished the energy for many reform crusades. Somewhat more complex in their loyalties, Mead and Hudson emphasized both the failures and successes of the revivalist tradition, failures and successes inseparable from those of American culture.[30]

The second consequence of the new religious surge owed more to the theological renaissance than to the popular increase. This was the demand on the part of a number of the seminary historians for a new kind of church history, emancipated from the long subservience to "positivist lay historians." With varying degrees of fervor, a number of manifestoes including more than one presidential address to the American Society of Church History called for a separate "church history." This must be the history of the church eternal, invisible, and universal; it must indeed be a narration of the continuing work of the Holy Spirit on earth.[31]

[29] William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959); Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River* (Boston, 1958).

[30] Timothy Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform* (New York, 1957); Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953); Sidney Mead, *The Lively Experiment* (New York, 1963). Most of the essays in the last book had been published in the fifties, though some of their direction had been suggested earlier in Mead's *Nathaniel William Taylor* (Chicago, 1942).

[31] Most of these essays are cited in Winthrop S. Hudson, "Shifting Trends in Church

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To the more extreme of these statements, lay historians and even some of the more moderate "church" historians themselves could raise several objections. In the first place, it seemed strange for Protestants to be quite so confident about the exact operation of the Holy Spirit or its limits. Was not church history, by some of the definitions now suggested, history itself? If so, could one be quite certain to whom it was given to understand it?[32] Second, on quite a different level, the demand for a separation from "positivist lay historians" seemed sometimes to ignore the fact that historians so described had done much of the research on which any interpretation of the American religious past, from any point of view, had to depend.[33] Third, this same demand for sharp separation seemed to ignore the nature of the current revival. Despite the great either-or's of some of its theologians, its effect had been to blur, not to sharpen the line between believers and nonbelievers, among historians as elsewhere. To draw a line between believing "church historians" and "positivist lay historians" had become impossible. Examples of both could be found, but one could also point to historians who combined impeccable secular academic credentials with seminary training, ministerial experience, or explicit religious affiliation. Many others had been touched to one degree or another by the revival of "interest in religion," and some who had not could hardly be called "positivists." The nature of the current religious situation had made religious classification of historians impossible. No one could say with precision where, in religious terms, the best new writing was coming from.

It is a little easier to say where the best work in religious history was *not* coming from. The groups that recently seem to have contributed least are opposites: atheists and Roman Catholics. No one in the recent period has examined American religion with the scholarly love-hatred of H. L. Mencken at his best. An explanation is suggested by Martin Marty's sketch of

History," *Journal of Bible and Religion,* XXVIII (Apr. 1960), 235–38. For another list, see the section on "Religious Historiography" in Burr, *Critical Bibliography,* I, 22–27.

[32] Something like this question is raised from the point of view of a church historian in the excellent article by William A. Clebsch, "A New Historiography of American Religion," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XXXII (Sept. 1963), 225–57. Arthur S. Link argues eloquently that from the point of view of "Biblical faith," there is no such thing as Christian history as distinguished from other history. (Arthur Link, "The Historian's Vocation," *Theology Today,* XIX [Apr. 1963], 75–89.)

[33] In the exuberance of the moment even Sidney Mead, sometimes criticized for his moderation by other "church" historians, said that it was no longer necessary to pay homage to "the rather presumptuous occupants of university chairs of secular history," or to orient church history according to "the unpredictable and transient interpretive vagaries" of these men. In 1963, however, he called for a much wider interpretation of the meaning of church history than these earlier statements suggested and condemned the tendency to widen the breach between religious and secular historians. (Sidney Mead, "Prof. [*sic*] Sweet's 'Religion and Culture in America,'" [review article], *Church History,* XXII [Mar. 1953], 33–49, and "Church History Explained," *ibid.,* XXXII [Mar. 1963], 3–31.)

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the history of the American infidel.[34] By the early twentieth century the commitments of American Protestantism had become so amorphous that there was nothing left to hate. Perhaps one of the tests of the depth of neo-orthodoxy is the question whether it will produce a neoatheism.

Since the 1955 bombshell of Monsignor John Tracy Ellis, Catholic intellectuals have been discussing the failure of American Catholicism to participate proportionally in American intellectual life in general. Some of them have also suggested that American Catholic history in particular has been slighted, and especially the history of the recent period of rapid Catholic increase.[35] Undoubtedly the social explanations suggested by Ellis, arising from the immigrant past of the American church, contain part of the answer. But some other suggestions have more relevance for our present purpose. One Catholic writer blames Catholic "formalism," "the tendency to see the world as 'finished' and all things in it as obvious in their essence and meaning," and also Catholic "Authoritarianism," of which one result is "the illusion of a neat universe in which nothing eludes the conceptions of a searching mind."[36] Still another suggests that the failure arises partly from the great difficulty, for American Catholics, especially since the crisis ending with Leo XIII's letter on Americanism, of carrying on a searching dialogue with non-Catholic American culture.[37]

These descriptions of Catholic difficulties seem relevant to some of the conclusions of this article. A point of view that has proved extremely fruitful both for Protestant and for nonreligious American historians (and for many who lie, as we have seen, between these two categories) is that suggested by Richard Niebuhr. From this point of view, religious impulses are never fully embodied in religious institutions, and the unity to be found in American church history must be found in a cycle of renewal and decline. Obviously, it would be impossible for a Catholic historian of Catholicism to take exactly this point of view. It may be that in this period of new openings, an analogous point of view may be found from which American Catholics can look freshly at their own church, and at American religious history in general.

A partly relevant parallel is offered by American Jewish history. Though

[34] Martin Marty, *The Infidel: Freethought and American Religion* (Cleveland, 1961).

[35] John Tracy Ellis, "The American Catholic and the Intellectual Life," reprinted in *The Catholic Church U.S.A.*, ed. Louis J. Putz (Chicago, 1956), 315–57; Henry J. Browne, "American Catholic History: A Progress Report, Research and Study," *Church History*, XXVI (Dec. 1957), 373.

[36] Thomas F. O'Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma: An Inquiry into the Intellectual Life* (New York, 1958), 156, 158.

[37] Walter J. Ong, "The Intellectual Frontier," in *Catholic Church*, ed. Putz, 394–415.

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historians of American Judaism, like their Catholic colleagues, have bewailed the slowness of development in their field, the problem seems almost opposite.[38] Much of the American Jewish history that has appeared in answer to such complaints deals successfully—not without internal friction and dispute—with exactly the problem so difficult for Catholics: the adjustment of an old and international religion to a Protestant or post-Protestant national culture. Where historians of American Judaism have been less successful, according to some critics, is in dealing with belief and doctrine. This may well arise from the comparatively nondoctrinal character of Judaism itself. Again, perhaps some variant of the approach that has proved fruitful for Protestantism may further illuminate the history of Judaism in America. If so, it will demand both an understanding of the religious stream and a knowledge of its secular channels.

The recovery of American religious history has been the work of thoroughly secular academic historians and also of believers, so far usually believers in some kind of Protestantism. The recent revival of religion has restored something of a balance between these two groups, and thereby it has greatly benefited American religious history. It has done this by restoring depth and variety rather than dogmatism. In America at least, most good history, whether of religion or anything else, has been written by people who are respectful of data, imaginative in dealing with many kinds of experience, and open to new insights—even incomplete and shifting insights. History written by those who confidently describe a single grand design, whether providential, evolutionary, or economic, sometimes impresses, but seems not to endure. Many, though not all, of the best recent historians of American religion do indeed believe that there is purpose in history. Of those who do believe this, few if any suppose that they understand this purpose in any detail. In dealing with the religious past, it is not ordinarily those "interested in religion" who sound dogmatic and defensive today, but rather the more rigid of the behaviorists, Freudians, and economic determinists.

Religious history, in any of the possible meanings of this term, is by no means sweeping all before it, any more than is religion itself. Rather, the revival of both has brought American history back into the great dialogue between secular and religious thought. It is to this dialogue, after all, that American culture itself owes much of its vigor and complexity.

[38] Oscar Handlin, "New Paths in American Jewish History," *Commentary*, VII (Apr. 1949), 388–93; Moses Rischin, *An Inventory of American Jewish History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY. By *V. H. Galbraith.* (London: C. A. Watts and Company. 1964. Pp. viii, 143. 21*s.*)

PREPARED for a British audience, this book has parts so very British that they will have little value for students in other countries. In Part II, for example, the author worries about the training of historians in British universities, and in his discussion of source translations he completely overlooks the Columbia "Records of Civilization." But so eminent a scholar has something to say to all of us, even though he is concerned primarily with the problems of his own island.

Part I is a brief, clear discussion of the various types of evidence used by the historian. It deals only with first principles, but these have seldom been better stated.

Part II moves to a more advanced set of problems: Why and how do men become historians? What should a historian do? Like most honest members of the trade, Professor Galbraith admits that simple curiosity is the driving force. He believes that that curiosity should be directed toward study of the sources because it can best be satisfied by this study. He would prefer to see all undergraduates write a paper based on the sources, instead of relying on secondary accounts. At the same time, he voices the usual doubts about the value of the Ph.D. thesis and suggests that if the thesis is necessary, it should take the form of an edition or a calendar of unpublished material. There is some merit in this proposal, but not all theses are as bad as he says, and a man can be a good writer without being a good editor. He also confuses the issue by equating originality with discovery. An "original" study is not necessarily the result of the "discovery" of unknown material. It is much more apt to result from looking at old sources from a new point of view, as Galbraith himself did in his work on Domesday Book. There will be less dissent from his assertion that the job of the historian is not to show how the present has become what it is, but rather to produce "an imaginative reconstruction of a different world."

Part III is a case study ("Who Wrote Asser's Life of Alfred?") illustrating some of the techniques of the use of sources. This is a sensible idea, adopted by too few of his predecessors, and a student who cannot be interested in this section probably should not go on to advanced study of history.

The plates, which illustrate the use of some of the auxiliary sciences, are the best and most instructive I have ever seen.

Princeton University JOSEPH R. STRAYER

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L'HISTORISME. By *Carlo Antoni.* Translated from the Italian by *Alain Dufour.* [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 1.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1963. Pp. 128.)

A BRIEF review cannot do justice to this remarkable volume of only 125 pages of text. Excellently translated into French from the Italian of the late Carlo Antoni, long professor of history at the University of Rome, and originating in a series of radio lectures, it is a masterly examination and evaluation of the varieties of historicism from its English precursors in the eighteenth century to its ultimate Italian expression in Croce's "absolute historicism."

In the introductory chapter Antoni defines historicism and poses the problem of its significance, particularly the baleful significance of the exposition given by the school of Meinecke. In the final chapter he expounds and defends the Crocean conception which, more than any other of its forms, finds favor in his eyes. To study historicism then in its evolution, as he does in successive chapters between the first and the last, is to conduct an *examen de conscience,* he contends, into the values of Western civilization.

The great corrupters are the devotees of the school of Meinecke; the great champion of the eternal values of humanity is Croce. For Antoni the impress made by German historicism on the thinking of man is neither a great spiritual moment nor the second triumph of German thinking since the Reformation. It is, on the contrary, a tragic disclosure of what European civilization lost when it rejected its Stoic-Christian-Enlightenment heritage and in its place extolled values that reduced man to helplessness before the irresistible nation-state. In its final embodiment, without the saving liberal caution of Meinecke himself, it justified the crushing tyranny of historical determinism over man, condoning the violence, the oppression, and the massacres of the twentieth century.

But in the synthesis that Croce elaborated over the course of his life, the individual found his champion. For Croce, and for Antoni, the guiding thread to human developments is the spirit, identical at all times, in all places, and all forms—the older *ratio,* in brief, by which Western civilization had lived for millenniums. Croce's thought reasserted the beauty and the dignity of the individual. For him, as for Vico, the role of historical explanation is to reveal to man his unending effort of self-realization.

Eloquently partisan, brilliantly provocative, this study is also regrettably too tight and condensed to do more than suggest the full range of the author's learning and the wisdom of his reflections. Clearly, there will be no full agreement with its argument. Its virtues transcend its shortcomings. It can profitably be read as the personal apologia of the author and as a fascinating excursion in European intellectual development.

New York University LEO GERSHOY

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PHILOSOPHY AND THE HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING. By *W. B. Gallie*. (New York: Schocken Books. 1964. Pp. 236. $6.00.)

THIS well-written book will, I believe, be extremely persuasive. In easy style it presents an account of historical understanding that in many ways resembles that of William Dray; at the same time it takes cognizance of the fact that explanations of the type characteristic of the sciences (nomological explanations) do play a part, although an entirely subsidiary one, in historical narrative. The whole tone is one of common sense: jargon is avoided, analogies are effectively used, points are succinctly stated. What one misses, however, is any attempt to argue these points or to trace their implications. References to the literature of the field are few, and this literature is, in the main, cavalierly treated.

The heart of the book, so far as the problem of historical understanding is concerned, is to be found in Chapters II–V. These chapters, with only minor stylistic changes and the rewriting of the final section, have already appeared in *History and Theory* (III [No. 2, 1963], 149–202); to that article Gallie has added only one significant discussion—of Collingwood on the question of consistency among historical narratives and the problem of universal history.

The position Gallie expounds is that historical writing is always a narrative concerning past human actions and that it is intelligible in the same way that any story is intelligible: through following the successive actions, thoughts, and feelings of those about whom the story is told, noting how these elements lead to an anticipated but not foreordained conclusion. Naturally, such a story must be based on evidence if it is to be history and not fiction; the problem of the relation of evidence to story is, however, not one with which Gallie deals. Nor does he deal with the relation between story and that which may be assumed to have existed prior to and independent of the story, and concerning which the story is told. The explanation of these lacunae in Gallie's discussion is to be found in his contention that his predecessors have devoted too much attention to the problem of how historical accounts are to be vindicated, too little to delineating what a historical account actually is. However, if "historical understanding" is to be construed in such a way that we can examine and delineate its nature without raising questions about the relation of narrative to evidence, and without wrestling with the problems of the correspondence (or lack of it) between the narrative and the past, then the term "historical understanding" is being used in a most unusual way.

To his account of historical understanding, Gallie has added an attempt to show in what ways history is of use to, and essential to, civilized life. Thus, he raises questions that few of his recent philosophic predecessors have raised concerning the pragmatics of history.

The concluding chapters of the book are of substantial philosophic interest for those concerned with the problems of philosophic methodology. Their connection to the discussion of historical understanding is, however, a tenuous one: a

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historical consideration of certain key philosophic terms is claimed to permit us better to understand what underlies and keeps alive various philosophic issues.

Johns Hopkins University MAURICE MANDELBAUM

DEATH AND WESTERN THOUGHT. By *Jacques Choron.* [Collier Books Original.] (New York: Collier Books. 1963. Pp. 320. $1.50.)

IN *Escape from Freedom* Erich Fromm could make the sweeping indictment: "Our own era simply denies death and with it one fundamental aspect of life." Twenty-five years later, the existentialist and neo-orthodox schools have filled in much of the gap. Now, thanks to Jacques Choron, we have a reliable, and readable, handbook describing for students of intellectual and cultural history "what the great philosophers of the Western World have thought about death."

If we accept the arbitrary confines of "Western" philosophy, the book is well organized and obviously the product of a seasoned scholar and teacher. Choron, born in St. Petersburg, took his Ph.D. at Leipzig and teaches at the New School for Social Research. Beginning with the pre-Socratics he marches with a sure pace through Greco-Roman antiquity, skips somewhat lightly through Judaeo-Christian thought and Renaissance Neoplatonism, then resumes his ordered advance through the early moderns. The philosophes and the romantics receive somewhat casual treatment; then once more systematic analysis is applied to the remainder of modern and contemporary philosophy. The last forty pages are crowded with useful notes.

It would be downright misanthropic to criticize the author for not doing still more, but some limitations of the work must be mentioned. First, certain philosophers are neglected, notably British and American. Second, there is a scantiness of reference to non-Western thought (for example, Taoism, Vedanta) when such material would be highly relevant. Third, the emphasis is on secular thought; medieval philosophy is virtually ignored. Fourth, the concepts dealt with are largely those concerned with ethics, especially overcoming the individual's fear of death.

The weakest aspect of the study is, I believe, the neglect of material on the borderline between philosophy and biomedical science: the meliorist point of view (prolongation of life; for example, Descartes, Francis Bacon, Condorcet) is too quickly dismissed. It may be that to one concerned with ultimates, the adding of a few years (or centuries) to the life span is of little consequence; in some of the most significant currents of modern Western thought, however, just such limited goals are counted more "real" than metaphysical profundities. In fairness to the author, we must mention that he takes a wider view in a more recent work, *Mortality and Modern Man* (1964).

We should now return to the virtues of the book. After a fine survey of earlier thinkers, the author reaches his highest level in dealing with nineteenth-century German philosophy. The presentation of the views of Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer,

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Feuerbach, and Nietzsche is an exciting tour de force. And the discussion of the existentialists (Jaspers, Heidegger, Sartre, and Marcel) carries the reader far beyond the reflections in recent literature and art.

Although the work is not as comprehensive as the title suggests, Choron has made a distinguished contribution to the history of ideas. This paperback is one of the superbargains of the year.

Lake Erie College GERALD J. GRUMAN

HEROES AND HERETICS: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF WESTERN THOUGHT. By *Barrows Dunham*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. ix, 484, vii. $6.95.)

To produce "a political history of philosophy" would be no easy task for any scholarly, dispassionate, fair-minded thinker. Barrows Dunham has done the job brilliantly, though he makes no pretense of lacking passionate moral and scientific convictions. His book is an obvious labor of love—exciting, imaginative, open to viewpoints the author rejects, shrewdly thoughtful, and suggestive. The book, moreover, is supremely well written, in a style that fairly sparkles.

The author seeks to treat the relation of ideas to organizational doctrines, placed in historical contexts. He emphasizes the perennial tensions between heresy and orthodoxy as they have been reflected in important historical issues. Concretely, Dunham has selected leading thinkers and historical actors as heroes whom he treats biographically in the contexts of the organizational struggles to which their views led or were subjected. The scholarship is thorough, the range of topics and men broad, the historical sweep extending from classical Egyptian times to the present, through Greek, Christian, Reformation, Renaissance, and Enlightenment thinkers. The treatment of ideological aspects of the scientific revolution and of the last two centuries is challenging.

Dunham has a perceptive "eye" for the "movement" of ideas through crisis situations as well as a humane and sympathetic sense of the tragedy of some "lost causes." He has achieved a laudible objectivity even while arguing hopefully for the thesis that the scientific age may even yet replace ideological conflicts with a sanely ordered society in which heroes need not become heretics. Only a few of the historical figures considered are Akhenaten, Socrates, Jesus, Paul, Augustine, Athanasius, other Church fathers, Abelard, Reformation thinkers, St. Joan, Copernicus, Spinoza, Hobbes, Locke, Jansen, Diderot, Newman, Marx, and Darwin. The names matter much less than the superb treatments that the author has given to their ideas and struggles.

This book deserves a wide and careful reading. It is both timely and scholarly. The work is proof that a scholar can combine conviction with fairness and objectivity, illuminating the objective details by "reasons of the heart." Dunham's achievement is a model of what the academic world can sometimes produce.

San Jose State College WHITAKER T. DEININGER

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A FESTSCHRIFT FOR FREDERICK B. ARTZ. Edited by *David H. Pinkney* and *Theodore Ropp.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 236. $7.50.)

Frederick B. Artz is now seventy years old. Most of that time he spent teaching history at Oberlin College to fascinated undergraduates, fifty of whom went on to become professional historians, and ten of these have collaborated to produce a commemorative volume. As the editors have noted, a *Festschrift* is a singularly fitting tribute in this case because the object of the honor was himself a scholar with historical interests almost as diverse as the subjects of these essays, and who, while having inspired their authors, trained none of them since perforce they pursued their graduate work at other institutions.

Since no cataloguing system will lead the searcher to these articles and the one useful guide to *Festschriften* is unlikely to be revised in the near future, it might be well to mention each entry. Robert M. Kingdon explains the lavish output of sixteenth-century printers by showing that "piety and patronage made scholarship possible." A. Hunter Dupree has found a close relationship between nationalism and science in the eighteenth century, contrary to the common assumptions of the Enlightenment. David H. Pinkney demonstrates that the Revolution of 1830 in France brought a host of Bonapartist officials back into office, but made no changes in the distribution of power among the social classes—France was no more bourgeois afterward than before. Until quite recently, historians have paid rather little attention to all but the most dramatically presented native protests to imperialism, leaving aside the lesser incidents which are sometimes more revealing. Ellsworthy C. Carlson describes one of these, which shows the smoldering resentment of nineteenth-century Chinese intellectuals toward Western penetration. Theodore Ropp, in a perceptive and sensitive way, discusses the war novels of the past century. Two hundred years of American relations with Turkey are outlined by Sydney Nettleton Fisher. Carpetbaggers, Richard N. Current has found, were no worse and no better than others active in post-Civil War southern business and politics; they just happened to be Republicans. Rowland Berthoff describes how the last century of business and labor history in America has seen a parallel and related organizational growth aimed at the creation of stability. Robert E. Neil, from a careful sifting of the evidence on the burning of the *Reichstag,* concludes that the case for the guilt of the Nazis remains strong, but not as overwhelming as it once seemed. Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., has traced the painful steps through which the American program for control of the atom first went—steps so slow that our sincerity came into doubt. This completes the sweeping array of subjects dealt with, prefaced by an academic and scholarly biography of Artz and followed by a complete bibliography. At the very end, there is a brief sketch of each contributor.

In still another manner, a *Festschrift,* which is an archaic publishing practice in our day, is appropriate on this occasion. Artz, although doubly distinguished

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as a historian, belongs to the classical school, and has remained undisturbed by most of the historiographical problems that have confronted scholars of the twentieth century. At a time when the social and behavioral sciences have made deeper and deeper inroads, he has become more and more preoccupied with the humanities—with art and literature and music. It would be a mistake, however, to allow posterity to believe, as the editors in their devotion might wish, that Artz was a quiet and retiring historian who simply let time pass him by. Quite the contrary, he was early and continuously known for the bluntness with which he expressed his views and combated those of others. For the latter, his many friends instantly forgave him, and eventually even most of his few enemies have done the same. For a generation and a half of students at Oberlin, this must have seemed a reasonable price to pay for a professor with ideas and convictions, for an intellectual in the classroom who took a three-dimensional stance toward the world around him and forthrightly proclaimed that stance's worth. Frederick Artz has always thought—and lived—with a flair.

University of Wisconsin HENRY BERTRAM HILL

BURKE, PAINE AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN: A DIFFERENCE OF POLITICAL OPINION. By *R. R. Fennessy, O.F.M.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1963. Pp. xiii, 274. Glds. 27.)

It is rare for even a single political pamphlet to achieve the status of a classic, but for a pair of them, one answering the other, to rise to it out of the same dispute must be almost unexampled. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* appeared in November 1790, the two parts of Paine's *Rights of Man* in March 1791 and February 1792. It was the perfect confrontation of Right and Left. Burke has been called the founder of conservatism, Paine the greatest popularizer of radical democracy. The debate for which they wrote their rival manifestoes was probably the most crucial ideological battle ever waged in English.

It is not hard to see why Father Fennessy casts his study of Burke and Paine into the form of an elaborate contrast. The two men were so normally and systematically opposed that they seem a kind of permanent combination, like balanced characters in a play. They felt differently about the French Revolution because, when it came to the test, they felt differently about almost everything. The real question is: which of their differences are most worthy of study?

Fennessy concentrates on their thinking about "natural rights," a topic at the very center of their disagreement. Paine was a child of the Enlightenment, well pleased with its favorite abstractions. Burke, like his friend Dr. Johnson, was of the common-sense British school which suspected the Enlightenment and whose usual response to abstractions was to "hate the very sound of them." On the other hand, Burke was religious; his instinct was to venerate the past, treat society as something sacred and mysterious, and assume a Divine Providence behind

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events. Paine had no talent for veneration and hated mysteries; he was a confident deist, but chiefly revered his own reasoning powers; he usually ignored the past and discussed human society in simple mechanistic terms.

The author, by the very plan of his book, must not take sides; he does not. He presents both cases with equal clarity. He examines their most characteristic ideas, as revealed decades before 1789, shows that each of their positions is coherent and, granting the premises, unanswerable, and then studies the effect of the *Reflections* and *Rights of Man* on the British public. He is admirably thorough as well as admirably honest, showing a full awareness of the available evidence bearing upon his problem. He has the literary power to present it with elegance.

University of Massachusetts THOMAS W. COPELAND

FROM METTERNICH TO HITLER: ASPECTS OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY, 1814–1939. HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ESSAYS. Edited by *W. N. Medlicott.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1963. Pp. viii, 267. $5.00.)

THIS collection of eleven essays on nineteenth- and twentieth-century history, selected and edited by Professor W. N. Medlicott from pamphlets issued by the Historical Association, is the second such collection. The first, *Social Life in Early England,* was brought out in 1960 by Professor Geoffrey Barraclough. No common theme links the essays of the present volume. Five deal in one way or another with Germany, three with the New World, two with Victorian England, and one with nineteenth-century European liberalism.

In the first essay, "The Congress of Vienna 1814–15 and the Conference of Paris 1919," written some forty years ago, C. K. Webster compares the organization of these two great conferences, and H. W. V. Temperley describes the attempts at international government in Europe, 1814–1825 and 1919–1920. The second essay is by Irene Collins, who writes on "Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe." The importance of free institutions in liberal thought is brought out, and the opposition to liberalism coming from democracy, republicanism, romanticism, and the Roman Catholic Church is described. Two essays on the Victorian Age follow. In "1851" Asa Briggs opens with the ministerial crisis of February, goes on to the Great Exhibition, and closes with the dismissal of Palmerston. Religious questions are emphasized. "To contemporaries in 1851 . . . the religious climate was more exciting and important than anything else." D. C. Somervell, writing on "The Victorian Age," divides the period at 1869 into an early and a later Victorianism and describes the characteristics of each. Much is made of evangelicalism and its dissolvents, Victorian party politics, and public health measures.

The three essays that follow are concerned with the overseas world. In "From Sail to Steam," H. Moyse-Bartlett traces the rise of the fast sailing vessel, the transition to steam, and the development of nineteenth-century shipping. R. W. Van Alstyne, in "The American Empire: Its Historical Pattern and Evolution,"

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finds the pattern of expansion visible as early as the seventeenth century. "The nation did not just grow in a 'state of absence of mind,' nor was its expansion confined to a single direction westward. The process involved a number of thrusts extending like spokes of a wheel from the coastal hub, thrusts intelligently conceived and consistently pursued." In "Latin American History," R. A. Humphreys sketches the origins of the Latin American states, their emergence as independent states, the economic and social forces shaping their development, and their entry into world affairs. In policy, strategy, and commerce he finds the peoples of the New and Old Worlds intimately associated and makes a plea for a broader treatment of American history, "perhaps better of Atlantic history."

The last four essays, like the first, are concerned in varying degree with Germany. In "Bismarck," Erich Eyck reappraises the foreign and domestic policies of the German Chancellor. Without absolving Napoleon III, Eyck holds Bismarck mainly responsible for the Franco-Prussian War. He is highly critical of Bismarck's foreign policy after 1870, especially of the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 and of Bismarck's subsequent disclosure of it. "The whole episode had very deplorable consequences for the political morality of the German people. . . . It learned to consider lack of morality as a quality of a great statesman." The close connection between Bismarck's foreign and domestic policies is stressed. "Bismarck was absolutely opposed to a development of German political life in the direction of parliamentary government." Eyck's conclusion is that "Bismarck remains the greatest and most important figure of his time."

In "The Origins of the First World War," Bernadotte E. Schmitt gives us the benefit of his long experience with this once highly controversial question. Writing some thirty years after the appearance of his authoritative work, *The Coming of the War 1914,* he finds the primary cause of the war in "the conflict over political frontiers and the distribution of peoples, the denial of what is commonly called the right of self-determination." Because of an increasing feeling of insecurity, European governments tried to strengthen their positions by armaments and by concluding alliances. "Germany enjoys the doubtful honour of launching this system of alliances, as it does in the matter of conscript armies." Germany was the most restless nation in Europe. The German government "resorted to methods of diplomacy which gave great offence." "All the governments were responsible, in greater or less degree, for building up the system of alliances and for the great accumulation of armaments. . . . But they were not equally responsible for the fatal turn of events." "William II and Bethmann accepted the risk of war with unbelievable nonchalance; it was they who put the system of European alliances to the test." "From the beginning of the crisis precipitated by the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, Germany had declined to restrain its ally and had urged it to act quickly." The Austrian bombardment of Belgrade on July 29 precipitated the intervention of Russia. If France did not support Russia, their alliance would be broken, and France would be left isolated. "Germany and France supported their allies on one issue—Serbia—not of direct concern to themselves, and thus it

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was that a quarrel between Austria-Hungary and Serbia became transformed, in the interest of the balance of power, into a general European war." "In 1914 what was at stake was the balance of power in Europe for an indefinite time ahead. . . . Austria-Hungary and Germany insisted on a military solution of the Serbian problem and clearly wished to upset the *status quo;* Russia, France, and Britain were ready to tolerate a diplomatic humiliation of Serbia but not its military subjugation, and while they were not committed to the *status quo,* they were unwilling to see it altered without their consent."

In "The German Revolution 1918–19," A. J. Ryder traces the movement from the "revolution from above" to the meeting of the constituent assembly at Weimar in February 1919. Two stages in the revolution are discerned: the first "marked by the apparently complete collapse of the old order" and the second "by an internecine conflict between the two socialist parties which developed into a form of civil war." Democratization, socialization, and demilitarization are seen as the main threads of the revolution. In the end, socialization and demilitarization had not been put into effect, and it appeared that even democracy was in danger from the Right and the Left.

Medlicott contributes the final essay, "The Coming of the War 1939." Written originally in 1940, it has been entirely rewritten in the light of recent knowledge. He finds no "war guilt" controversy today comparable to that following World War I, except on the relative delinquencies of those powers that failed to stop Hitler. "There was no serious plan for world domination, although the British and other empires would be divided up as an incidental result of victory." "From the days of *Mein Kampf* until 1944, the objective was the black-soil region of Russia and east Europe generally, as living space for German colonists." From 1935 on there were vast public exaggerations of Germany's land and air strength and of its invulnerability to blockade, but "there was nothing haphazard in the crucial decision as to the point at which Germany's relative strength could be most profitably deployed against potentially stronger opponents." "In 1939 and 1940 Hitler took a calculated risk which brilliantly succeeded, even if he miscalculated the risks later." Medlicott emphasizes British preoccupation from 1937 with their armaments position. "The safety point in rearmament seemed to Chamberlain and his cabinet to have been reached just at the point at which Hitler's occupation of Prague had finally revealed to the world the speciousness of his claim that his only object was to re-unite German minorities." The Anglo-French negotiations with Russia in 1939 came to a standstill in July over the Soviet demand for the inclusion in the treaty of a definition of indirect aggression that would allow the three powers to intervene in neighboring states even where they were under no threat of force and the Soviet demand for a satisfactory military agreement before the main treaty could be signed. The decisive event, according to Medlicott, was not the Soviet-German pact of August 23, although August was the decisive month, but the Anglo-Polish agreement on August 25. Hitler "could not leave the problem of his relations with the western powers in

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the air; they must either bind themselves to him by some voluntary surrender, or be crushed."

Except for Medlicott's paper, the essays have been published as originally written, or with but slight changes. The authors were able to make any revision necessary to bring their essays up to date. Humphreys has added notes in brackets "as a guide to further reading and to enable the reader to correct or amplify judgments which I formed nearly twenty years ago." All but three of the essays have either a short bibliography at the end or have bibliographical suggestions in footnotes. All in all, it is an interesting and useful collection of essays. Varied in subject, well-written, and abreast of the scholarship of their fields, they are particularly valuable to the student and teacher of recent European history.

University of Michigan HOWARD M. EHRMANN

LE CONFLIT FRANCO-MAROCAIN, 1943–1956. Volume I, HISTORIQUE; Volume II, MÉCANISME DE LA DÉCOLONISATION DU PROTECTORAT: CONTRIBUTION À LA THÉORIE DU SYSTÈME POLITIQUE; Volume III, INSTITUTIONS ET GROUPES SOCIAUX; ANNEXES. By *Stéphane Bernard*. [Centre européen de la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale. Études de cas de conflits internationaux, Number 2.] (Brussels: Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1963. Pp. 389; 286; 402.)

THIS triple-barreled study of the Franco-Moroccan crisis, prepared by Stéphane Bernard of the *Université Libre de Bruxelles,* uses the techniques of the historian, political scientist, and sociologist to produce a work of high merit. Devoid of passion, yet forthright, fair, and surely as scientific as social science in frail human hands allows, the study literally exhausts the topic, sometimes even beating it to death. Inevitably new materials will be uncovered since the subject is yet so young, and additional monographs will be published as this period of massive decolonization in the West since 1945 attracts increasing interest, but it is reasonably certain that this particular work will stand for a long time as an impressive monument. It will be at once a source of inspiration for further study and an aid in arriving at new knowledge.

Volume I, which sets out to treat the subject historically, within the 1943–1956 limitation, does precisely that and therefore cannot be criticized for not doing something else. Had this volume been more broadly conceived, by allowing some space for Morocco's fascinating and important earlier history and by making use of the work of anthropologists, it would have been strengthened. This would have violated the chronological limitation, but our understanding of Franco-Moroccan relationships would be the richer.

The historian can learn much from the second volume which so brilliantly and incisively poses the question of the European impact. Colonization, at least in some quarters in recent times, has become a whipping boy. Subject as we are

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to the horrors of colonial repression and indigenous nationalism's equally horrifying terrorism, we too often forget the nature of colonization. "Without the advanced technological and sociological impact of Europe upon other societies, colonization, in the contemporary sense of the term, would have been impossible. Without the changes wrought upon colonized societies, the colonial regimes would have been eternal. At the origin of colonization, and at the base of its decline, there was change, and its legitimacy in the last analysis can only be judged in terms of the function of this change."

The final volume examines not merely institutions and social groups in Morocco and France, but it also concerns itself with Franco-Moroccan economic-financial organization, urban and guerrilla terrorism, and, finally, devotes fifty badly needed pages to the international context. The discussion of the press, lobbies, and French political parties within the context of the colonial crises is extremely illuminating. When World War II ended (and long after) it was incredibly difficult for the French public and the various pressure groups and power elites that that public generated to accept the idea that the costs of holding the colonies under the old dispensations were prohibitive. Not surprising to anyone slightly familiar with the process of decolonization, the large interests such as the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas* saw reasonably early and more clearly than most of the colons, army people, administrators, and politicians that the old game had reached its end. That the new rules are today clearly understood by high officialdom, teachers, technologists, and businessmen is clearly demonstrated by the remarkable resurgence of French influence in the former colonies and protectorates of Africa.

Northwestern University RICHARD M. BRACE

Ancient and Medieval

THUCYDIDES AND ATHENIAN IMPERIALISM. By *Jacqueline de Romilly*. Translated by *Philip Thody*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1963. Pp. xi, 400. $10.00.)

WRITTEN during the war, this book was first published (1947) under the title *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien: La pensée de l'historien et la genèse de l'oeuvre;* the subtitle indicates the character and scope of the study.

In the general introduction, Mme. de Romilly inveighs against the futility of seeking the times at which Thucydides wrote various parts of his *History*. "Exhausting by the immense bibliography which it offers, completely negative in its results, the question of the composition of the work can at present be considered as the perfect example of a vain and insoluble problem." More fruitful is a study of the composition in the light of a particular idea or habit or principle peculiar to Thucydides. Thus the author selects Athenian imperialism because this is a

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continuously present theme that gives to Thucydides the opportunity for changes of opinion, new interpretations, and fresh judgments.

The book is in three parts, each with an introduction and a conclusion: "The Data—Athenian Imperialism in Thucydides' Work"; "The Successive Forms Assumed by Athenian Imperialism"; "The Unity of Athenian Imperialism." A general conclusion ("From Politics to Ethics") completes the text. The selected bibliography given in the French edition is accompanied by two indexes: "Passages in Thucydides" and "Other Greek Texts."

The analytical table of contents reveals the method. De Romilly moves slowly through the *History,* examining especially the causes of the war, the nature of Athenian rule, the treatment of prominent statesmen, the debate before the Spartan assembly, and the theory of Athenian imperialism. Thucydides' central preoccupation, she concludes, is imperialism, which gives unity to his work. Although a distinction can be made "between an early level, written in some form or other before 404, and a series of later elements, added after 404," what happened later simply gave greater intensity and precision to his attitude and method and increased the clarity of his revision. De Romilly refuses to countenance the reconstruction of "a kind of 'Ur-Thukydides.'"

The book is heavy reading, in English as well as in French; the author tends to labor the obvious and is repetitive (to an extent, inevitable). But her argument is sound, as are her conclusions. She exaggerates Athens' autocracy in its relations with the allies; the references to the *phoros,* to the assessment of 425, to Athenian resources in 431, and to epigraphic evidence in general are surprisingly uninformed. These defects are not remedied in the author's "Additional Remarks," which are supplemented by "Studies Mentioned in Additional Remarks." Here, although De Ste Croix ("The Character of the Athenian Empire," *Historia,* III [1954], 1–41) receives comment, Bradeen's answer (*Historia,* IX [1960], 257–69) is a notable absentee.

De Romilly admits in the preface that she has not attempted to change the original text. Philip Thody's translation, occasionally unidiomatic, is workmanlike. To have the book available in English is useful.

University of British Columbia MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE ATTALIDS OF PERGAMUM. By *Roger B. McShane.* [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 53.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 241. Cloth $5.00, paper $4.00.)

THE 150 years in which an able and astute dynasty raised its rock fortress to rivalry with Alexandria are a fascinating spectacle, such as (in antiquity) only the Hellenistic Age can offer. The time was ripe for a detailed political study. E. V. Hansen, in 1947, competently surveyed the whole field, and the last ten years have seen a spate of work on Roman relations with the Greek world. Unfortunately this book is disappointing. Although it refrains from advertising the fact,

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it is a revised version of a 1959 doctoral dissertation. The author has an obtrusive thesis to propound: that the Attalids were genuine defenders of Greek freedom, giving Greek cities more independence (within a form of alliance) and more happiness than other kings did. That this can be seen, where any evidence exists, to be patently untrue provides a challenge to the author. When Attalus I, alone among monarchs, arrogantly speaks of "the cities under me" and "the cities that obey me" (thereby rending the merciful veil of collusive euphemisms that normally disguised domination), this is declared unimportant. The stylized courtesies of cities addressing kings are taken, with naïve seriousness, as tributes to their popularity; the sixteen-year record of interference in civic jurisdiction by a governor on Aegina is evidence of "how valuable the royal governor was . . . in judicial controversy." The shifts and turns of cities taken between rival kings are (where in favor of the Attalids) signs of deeply felt loyalty, and evidence of the sudden wholesale collapse of the Attalid hegemony at Attalus I's death shows that "evidently Eumenes [his successor] was able to continue to appeal to his allies as a defender preferable to Antiochus." Even silence can provide proof: when Lampsacus appeals to Rome through distant Massilia, pointedly ignoring nearby Pergamum (also a friend of Rome), it "was undoubtedly Eumenes who first encouraged" this step to provide "a forceful reminder" to the Senate of his position! It is no surprise that vast Pergamene symmachies are hinted at, and their principles and practices sketched, without a single piece of supporting evidence.

The author is hampered by ignorance of Greek and Latin: Loeb translations are used almost throughout, without awareness of pitfalls, and the phrase "an *adscripti*" appears three times on pages 112–113. He is careless over names ("Hieraptyna," "Philometer," *passim*) and very inadequately informed on bibliography, even before 1959: Volume II of Holleaux's *Études* (1938), collecting his Attalid essays, is not used, and some of the essays are unknown; Robert's volumes of *Hellenica,* including Segrè's posthumous paper on the *Nicephoria* (Volume V, 1948), are ignored; neither Stier's important *Roms Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* nor Schmitt's *Rom und Rhodos* (both 1957) had reached the author, nor had a host of standard books and articles. The chapter on "The Greek Leagues before 283 B.C." reveals startling ignorance of fourth-century Greek history.

Though there are some detailed interpretations of interest to specialists, this book should be kept out of the hands of the unwary student or general reader.

University of Durham E. BADIAN

THE ROMAN CENSORS: A STUDY ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By *Jaakko Suolahti*. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, Number 117.] (Helsinki: [Finnish Academy of Science and Letters.] 1963. Pp. 837.)

No office is more characteristic of the classical Roman Republic than the censorship: its holders were aristocratic; its functions were ill-defined and largely extralegal; it combined arbitrary power with traditional restraint, and deep moral

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feeling (genuine even in its least worthy exponents) with political chicanery. There have been numerous surveys of its history and its personnel, but none exhaustive. The author of this book applies chiefly prosopographical method—the study of persons against their social background. Since only about 160 censors held office in the Roman Republic, nearly all of whom are known and have been much studied, the author's statistics and conclusions are far more reliable than in his earlier work on junior officers, a field in which numbers are large and our knowledge scant. What emerges is well documented, but not very new. The book is unbearably long for the original content it offers.

Sixty pages on the functions and history of the office present orthodox doctrine. The lists of censors and their careers (nearly forty pages) firmly follow Broughton's *Magistrates of the Roman Republic,* with no independent investigation. The bibliography (seventeen pages) includes much that is unnecessary and much that has not, in fact, been used, but omits highly relevant articles in leading journals. The index (seventy pages) contains surrealist entries like "father" (half a column of figures) and "defeats, see war defeats," but is entirely nonanalytical. The list and discussion (thirty pages with maps) of the origins of censors is gravely impaired by the fact that L. R. Taylor's *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (1960) has not been used. (Characteristically, it is listed in the bibliography.) Worst of all, the main part of the book, four hundred pages entitled "A Detailed Examination of the Censors," reproduces a "potted" version of the *Real-Encyclopaedie* entry on each censor and his family, with (where appropriate) snippets from the works of Münzer and Scullard. There is nothing here but diligent use of scissors and paste.

There remain about two hundred pages that contain much carefully analyzed information for specialists, documenting (what no one has doubted) such conclusions as that censors came from the best families, but that individual merit and connections might help to get them elected. Processes like the numerical decline and the continuing power of the patrician *gentes* and the rise and fall of noble families are carefully illustrated. Perhaps the most useful part is the appendix discussing the identity of the few unknown censors: all the evidence and the main modern treatments are set out and discussed.

The author and the printers are to be congratulated on accurate English and good typography. But the book, finished in 1959, seems to have taken four years to publish and in fact, despite additions to the bibliography, must be taken as presenting the state of scholarship of the middle 1950's.

University of Durham E. Badian

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume III, ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by *M. M. Postan et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 696. $13.50.)

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FOR nearly twenty-five years fate has dealt cruelly with the production of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Considering the many tragic delays that have surrounded the project throughout that period, the long-awaited appearance of the third volume and the over-all excellence of the series should be taken as a major triumph of the persistence and dedication of its distinguished editors and contributors.

Volume I (1941) dealt chiefly with the agrarian economy of medieval Europe. Volume II (1952) was concerned primarily with commerce and secondarily with industry. Volume III attempts to encompass two broad and difficult areas: the organization of economic life in the Middle Ages, including the techniques of business; and economic policies and policy-making institutions. To some considerable degree then—and this is in keeping with the plans of the series' original editors—Volume III treats the various aspects of medieval economy left out of the first two volumes.

The current volume falls into two parts. The first is entitled "Organization" and begins with a chapter by H. van Werveke of Ghent on the rise of the towns. A second chapter by Raymond de Roover deals with the organization of trade and describes the technical aspects of medieval business with a masterful lucidity and a wealth of illustrative detail, and a third chapter by O. Verlinden of Brussels discusses the evolution and organization of markets and fairs.

Part II, entitled "Policies," is the bulkier of the two sections. In the first of its five substantial chapters A. B. Hibbert discusses the economic policies of towns. Next, in a careful and penetrating discussion of the history and influence of the guilds, Sylvia Thrupp skillfully lays to rest some stereotyped notions about their effectiveness in limiting competition and emphasizes the marked diversity of their policies from place to place and from industry to industry. A multiauthored chapter on the economic policies of governments follows. Here Van Werveke discusses the Low Countries, E. Lönnroth, the Baltic countries, and Carlo Cipolla, the Italian and Iberian Peninsulas. Edward Miller analyzes the economic policies of England and France and provides an introduction intended to give some greater unity to this rather disparate chapter. Many of these writers, including Hibbert, follow a similar interpretive theme which sees two distinct periods, an earlier period of freedom and a later one of restriction and protectionism, in the history of medieval economic policy; they are, however, not always in accord with regard to the causes that produced the division or the point in time when the change occurred. In the remainder of this section E. B. and M. M. Fryde write on public credit, particularly in Northwestern Europe, and Gabriel Le Bras discusses the development of medieval economic and social thought. The volume contains a useful appendix, by P. Spufford of Keele University, describing the coins and currencies mentioned in the text, and it concludes with the customary bibliographies arranged by chapter. The year 1958 (in two or three cases 1959) is the most recent publication date of the items listed.

A few general criticisms of this formidable volume seem appropriate. First,

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some of the content already appears out of date. In Van Werveke's chapter on towns, for example, Pirenne's position is followed more closely than very recent scholarship would deem appropriate. Even De Roover's comprehensive presentation is a bit behind in its analysis of the use of land transportation by merchants prior to the mid-thirteenth century, and Verlinden's discussion of the fairs was unable to incorporate the results of some more recent studies. Though regrettable, these are minor omissions and must be attributed to the numerous delays surrounding the volume's publication rather than to any shortcomings on the part of the authors.

Second, many readers may be troubled by certain larger omissions characterizing the book. The editors apologize in their preface for the lack of a full chapter on coins and currencies, which was originally intended to form one of the "cornerstones" of this volume. Although Spufford's appendix is valuable and strives to correct this deficiency, it cannot substitute for a full treatment of an area of study so important and difficult. Yet perhaps most significant is the lack of a chapter devoted expressly to the role of the Church and the papacy in the economic life of medieval Europe. Such a discussion would seem to me as vital to the coverage of the volume as is the attention given to the economic policies of the secular states. The fine chapter by Le Bras, written essentially from the legal theorist's point of view, is concerned with the Church's attitude toward economic activity rather than with the economic activity of the Church.

Third, one must point to the sharply contradictory interpretations of the direction of Europe's economy in the later Middle Ages as expressed particularly by Lopez in Volume II and Cipolla in Volume III. Was this a period of "depression," "saturation," "contraction," or "expansion"? Neither of these scholars ever fails to generate excitement, and although some readers will be deeply disturbed at their disagreement, hopefully many more will be stimulated to productive thought.

Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point RICHARD D. FACE

PERSPECTIVES IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY. By *S. Harrison Thomson et al.* Edited by *Katherine Fischer Drew* and *Floyd Seyward Lear*. [Rice University Semicentennial Publications.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for William Marsh Rice University. 1963. Pp. xi, 93. $4.00.)

HERE are five essays by eminent scholars—S. Harrison Thomson, Lynn White, jr., A. C. Crombie, Gaines Post, and E. Dwight Salmon—who have taken prominent parts in their generation's fight to salvage the Middle Ages from the lingering suspicion that it was a time of unrelieved gloom, ignorance, and superstition. Their purpose is to show that there was as much continuity between medieval and modern times in specific fields of thought and action as there was discontinuity in others. The authors deal in turn with the progress of medieval studies in the United States, medieval technology, medieval science, medieval political

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and legal theory, and the medieval "substructure" of modern history. All stress the inadequacy of the Burckhardtian notion of the Renaissance as constituting a radically new point of departure for the development of Western civilization. All argue for the flexibility and dynamism of medieval culture, and they sustain their thesis by careful analysis of materials in their respective fields of specialization. The essays by White, Crombie, and Post are especially useful, not only for the synthetic nature of their generalizations but also for the wealth of bibliographical and historiographical materials incorporated into text and apparatus. The self-confidence with which the authors set forth their arguments on behalf of the medieval contribution to the modern age would seem to indicate that the battle for the dignity of the Middle Ages has at last been won and that the few adamant Burckhardtians still remaining (if there are any) can retire from the field with honor.

One cannot help but wonder, however, if it is not time for a reappraisal of Burckhardt, who has drawn much more than his due share of criticism from the defenders of medievalism. After all, Burckhardt himself did not deny continuity between the Middle Ages and the modern age, and he did not deny that other ages matched the Renaissance in the extent and depth of its creative endeavors. He was interested in determining the precise originality of the modern experience, to which the Renaissance in his view only contributed, along with the Reformation and the Age of Absolutism. Far from finding the essence of modernity in the Renaissance, he saw the nineteenth century as a flight from the freedom of the individual, which manifested itself in all phases of Renaissance thought, art, and life. We medievalists should take care, lest we, in our reaction to Burckhardt's complex oversimplification, commit the error usually ascribed to Burckhardt himself. It is a mistake to insist too ardently on the "modernity" of the Middle Ages. In doing so we throw ourselves open to the charge that we lack an adequate notion of just what the "modern" is.

University of Rochester HAYDEN V. WHITE

DAS EUROPÄISCHE MITTELALTER IM AMERIKANISCHEN GESCHICHTSDENKEN DES 19. UND DES FRÜHEN 20. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Hans Rudolf Guggisberg*. [Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Number 92.] (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1964. Pp. vii, 182. 19 fr. S.)

TIMES indeed have changed. Occasionally in the past distinguished American scholars like Haskins, Charles W. David, and others have temporarily abandoned their special interests to evaluate American contributions to medieval studies. Now it is a European who tells the world what we have accomplished in a field long held by Europeans to be uniquely one of their own exclusive concerns. We can be complimented by the care and attention given to produce a monograph that all medievalists should welcome. They will find it extraordinarily useful.

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The author has an astonishing control of American sources. Opportunities that permitted him to explore American libraries and archives have been wisely and effectively used. The work has been well planned, executed with the sure touch of the expert, throughout inspires confidence and commands respect. One is impressed by the deep and sure knowledge of American intellectual history here displayed by a foreign author, by the scholarship and balance of each section as well as of the work as a whole, and by the highly sustained level of the writing. The book will prove useful for the seasoned medievalist, for he will here find much that he may have forgotten and even things about which he has been ignorant. It will be a boon to graduate students and others concerned with historiographical problems.

Guggisberg divides his long essay into six chapters and, though stressing the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ends his work at 1930. Obviously he has occasionally found it necessary to go beyond this arbitrary terminus where failure to do so would damage the narrative. A discussion of our eighteenth-century inheritance, where affinity for the medieval past was certainly not strong, leads to consideration of New England romanticism, the potent medievalism of Walter Scott, the Gothic revival, the emotional rather than scholarly reactions of Washington Irving, and an evaluation of things medieval as seen by Prescott, Motley, and George Ticknor. A third chapter is reserved for discussion of American historical writing following the Civil War where, in respect to things medieval, interest in our Anglo-Saxon heritage dominated. Theories of the Germanic origin of free institutions took hold with vengeance and were long to challenge all contenders. A splendid fourth chapter covers the later nineteenth century where the attractions of English legal history had great appeal, where the battle between science and theology was often fought against a medieval background, where Henry Charles Lea forced Europeans to give respectful consideration to American medieval studies, and where Charles Eliot Norton's aesthetics affected historical writing. Henry and Brooks Adams command a separate chapter where, however, in spite of its interest and excellence, reference to Ernest Samuel's distinguished analysis of Henry is not noted. Forty pages are reserved for the period 1900 to 1930. To cover so much in such brief space tests the skill of the author. In this treatment of our near contemporaries one admires his succinct, meaningful sketches of scholars who were known personally and affectionately by many of us. The breadth of the author's researches, his sound judgments, the sureness of his touch throughout the essay are impressive. This is an excellent book.

Northwestern University GRAY C. BOYCE

IRELAND: HARBINGER OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Ludwig Bieler*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 148. $12.50.)

DR. Bieler's theme is the development and character of early Irish Christianity and its intricate contributions to medieval European culture. The treatment is

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clear and pleasantly discursive and is supported by many excellent illustrations, pictorial and verbal. There are fine color reproductions of illumination and metal work, photographs, drawings, and maps, and passages freshly translated from the documents cited, always full enough to give the savor as well as the sense of the originals. Dr. James Carney has furnished the translations of Irish and Latin poetry, and, as one would expect, they are sensitive and lively. The placing of the illustrations is unusually good, time and again revealing correspondences between the arts and philosophy that are often the more effective for being indicated silently. This large, beautiful, and useful book ought to be in every college library. I know of no better introduction to the broad subject.

The book is clearly meant to draw students (always badly needed) and to lead them to the more particular or fundamental works cited in the preface. There Bieler modestly passes over his own contributions, but none will mistake that the attractiveness of the book is the product of informed enthusiasm. As a scholar he has the confidence in his subject to let it speak for itself wherever possible; he seldom overpleads its case. The epilogue especially is a just summary of what the Irish brought to early medieval Europe and of how and when the gifts dwindled or became obsolete. The whole argument is happily distant from the old stridency that used to discover an Irish plum in every conceivable pie from Vergil to Shakespeare and thereby repelled the interest it sought to arrest.

For the few points where the book is not so satisfactory one must remember the major theme, which is not native Irish history. Some may wonder why this is dealt with at once so scantily and so glowingly. The fault is not altogether Bieler's. There is a vast difference between what scholarship has so far done for Irish Christianity and what it has done for Christian Ireland. We have only the broken outlines of the latter story, and there are masses of material that must be worked over before conjecture hardens into history. Even so, more is known about lay institutions and literature, about the Vikings in Ireland, and about the extent and nature of the eleventh-century "Renaissance," and the available scholarly judgments are more complex and qualified than some of the author's statements would indicate. But this is peripheral to the main theme; no doubt it was wiser to stick to the older assessments and not spoil the clarity of the presentation by choosing among arguments notoriously unresolved.

As it stands, this book will be good for a long time to come. Would that it had been available twenty years ago.

Harvard University JOHN V. KELLEHER

BEITRÄGE ZUR DEUTSCHEN VERFASSUNGSGESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS. Volume I, GERMANEN, FRANKEN, DEUTSCHE; Volume II, STÄDTE UND TERRITORIEN. By *Walter Schlesinger*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1963. Pp. 348; 269. DM 28 each.)

THESE immensely learned and penetrating studies afford further evidence of the

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intensive revision and reinterpretation that the constitutional history of medieval Germany is currently undergoing. Liberal constitutionalists like Georg Waitz in his *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (8 vols., 1844–78) regarded the German Middle Ages as a tragic period in which monarchical attempts to develop effective organs of central government had been frustrated by the pretensions of the magnates, the existence of a tangled undergrowth of customary law which impeded the monarchy at every step, the irrepressible *Freiheitstrieb* of the German people, and the spirit of independence displayed by the territorial princes. The negative conclusion of Waitz was challenged in 1914 by Georg von Below, who claimed in his *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* that the essential elements of a viable state had existed *in nuce* in medieval Germany. This view was rejected by Otto Brunner in his *Land und Herrschaft* (1939), who pointed out that the persistence of the blood feud as an accepted legal remedy in Germany reflected the inability of the central government to enforce law and order in a manner appropriate to a sovereign state. Brunner proceeded to observe that the process of state building had fallen by default of the monarchy into the hands of the territorial princes, who had successfully applied its techniques in the narrower limits of their own domains. Thus he emphasized the positive and creative aspect of the activities of the princes, who were not to be regarded merely as the gravediggers of German unity. Hence the successive forms of *Adelsherrschaft,* and their dynamic relationship with the monarchy, provided the central themes of German constitutional history in the medieval period.

In conformity with this change of historical standpoint, the first volume of the present work is largely concerned with the fluctuating constitutional relations between the crown and the high nobility to the tenth century. The royal elections in the early German kingdoms served as an index of the relative strength of the monarchs and the *potentes.* Electoral procedures had not yet crystallized and hence displayed an elasticity under the pressure of interested parties. On this notoriously difficult topic the author is most illuminating. His belief that the magnates participated in the elections as the representatives of the people as a whole might well have been supported by some analysis of the Germanic concept of representation. Further, the discussion of the "election" of 817 might have benefited from a consideration of the extent to which the form of canonical election *per inspirationem* was applied to the proceedings. Finally, the growing definition of the royal office as a ministerium might have been emphasized on the basis of the valuable dissertation of W. A. Schmidt, *Verfassungslehre im 9. Jahrhundert: Die Fürstenspiegel und politischen Schriften des Jonas von Orléans, Hinkmar von Reims, Sedulius Scottus, Servatus Lupus von Ferrières und Agobard von Lyon* (1961).

The second volume is devoted primarily to urban origins. The author rightly perceives a dualism in the constitutional structure of the early medieval town, which was constituted of seigneurial and corporative elements. He contends, rather more questionably, that the typical relationship between the lord of the

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city and the burgesses was one of cooperation rather than friction and that few citizens anywhere sought complete freedom from the seigneur. It is undeniable that in many cases the respective powers of the lord and the commune were determined by peaceful means. But the volcanic disturbances in the cities of north Italy and the Rhineland during the eleventh century suggest that communal liberties were frequently born in blood and strife. Piercing and constructive criticism of established views is, however, one of the many good qualities of these illuminating and adventurous studies, which break new ground at every opportunity. The author bears a vast weight of documentation with grace and felicity and never fails to give stimulating guidance over the most poorly lighted historical terrain.

McGill University C. C. Bayley

GREAT HISTORICAL ENTERPRISES; PROBLEMS IN MONASTIC HISTORY. By *David Knowles*. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1963. Pp. viii, 231. 30*s*.)

Painful tension grips the reviewer in his attempt to keep faith with stringent word limits while paying due homage to a significant book. Perhaps this stress can be alleviated by recalling the author's terse postscript. The book has been written to focus the reader's reflection on the different ways in which critical, historical scholarship may register its advances. Collaborative projects and individual researches alike contribute to the realization of historical truth. The author has reviewed both categories of advance.

The first division of the book deftly, yet comprehensively, describes four great historical enterprises: those of the Bollandists, the Maurists, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* and the rolls series. The author's interweaving of men and movements within each associational venture is a triumph of technical exposition, readably presented. Here, within the interplay of human weakness and devotion, is an impressive record of cooperative labors. The raw materials of history are brought in varying degrees under critically reconstructive scrutiny and into recorded focus.

The second, somewhat shorter, portion of the work presents two controversial issues of monastic history. These institutional re-examinations are carried on by way of the documents that served to precipitate them and that may well help to resolve them. Of basic concern to the individual controversial researcher in recent generations have been two major considerations. One is the controverted dependence of St. Benedict's *Rule* upon the anonymous *Regula Magistri*. Another posits the precedence of a complex of primitive documents over the constitutional originality of Stephen Harding in the development of the Cistercian *Carta Caritatis*. Documentary thrust and counterthrust have been registered in terms of primarily individual, rather than collective, attack and defense. Here historical challenge and support alike have unsettled many a hitherto "received and venerable

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opinion." Following his enviably balanced résumé of documents and critical literature the author can conclude boldly, yet with restraint: "the hypothesis that St. Benedict made extensive use of the previously existing *Rule of the Master* must remain as one enjoying a very high degree of probability." Again, the unraveling of sources inhering in the *Charter of Charity* prompts an equally sobering conclusion. With the full impact of individual researches still in suspension, it has been shown "once and for all that the development of the Cistercian constitution was not a sudden flash of genius with foresight, but the response of a number of clear and statesmanlike minds to the unfolding of a difficult problem." Thus, cumulative individual researches have contributed to "a fabric of positive knowledge." An alteration of historical perspective on crucial aspects of monastic development has gradually occurred.

Such a descriptive review can indicate little of Professor Knowles's intricately nuanced analysis and reconstruction of important historiographical issues. Perhaps it has been sufficiently hinted, however, that here is a book for the sharply heightened delight of critical scholars, the awed note-taking of graduate students, and the surprised edification of intelligent general readers.

Duke University RAY C. PETRY

LES CAMPAGNES DE LA RÉGION PARISIENNE À LA FIN DU MOYEN ÂGE: DU MILIEU DU XIII^e SIÈCLE AU DÉBUT DU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *Guy Fourquin*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, Series "Recherches," Number 10.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. 585. 36 fr.)

GUY Fourquin's work on the economic organization of the Paris region in the late Middle Ages was prepared as a doctoral thesis, and it enjoys the advantages as well as the disadvantages of this type of work. Among the advantages one will find careful documentation and exhaustive treatment of the subject; the disadvantages are produced by an attempt to do too much, to list all the evidence with the result that its general significance is obscured. This is a careful study, however, and adds to the growing list of regional economic studies being produced on medieval France; it is a companion piece to Fourquin's *Le domaine royale en Gâtinais d'après la prisée de 1332,* published in 1963.

Fourquin has divided his work into three parts. In Part I, he considers the economic condition of the region around Paris before the Hundred Years' War. The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were a period of great prosperity (in spite of increased fragmentation of manorial and feudal holdings), but just prior to the outbreak of the war, the economy of the region suffered from a series of crises beginning with the great food shortage of 1315–1317.

Part II is devoted to the economic life of the Île-de-France during the Hundred Years' War. After a very detailed study of the contemporary records available, Fourquin concludes that the effects of the Black Death were very considerable

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but that the destruction caused by the war has probably been exaggerated. In reply to the question, is the marked economic decline of the fifteenth century attributable to the war, he concludes that the war was an aggravating factor, but that the real cause was owing to more basic economic difficulties: adjustment to great fluctuations in the value of money and farm prices and wages lagging far behind industrial prices and wages. In effect, economic difficulties appeared before the war and continued for a long time after the expulsion of the English.

Part III is devoted to tracing the recovery that occurred between the middle of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Although the Île-de-France was probably hit harder than other regions by the occupation of the early fifteenth century and the civil disturbances resulting therefrom, this area recovered more rapidly—a recovery stimulated by the concentration of wealth in the city of Paris and the emergence of a new nobility owing its position originally to the holding of administrative office but coming more and more to dominate the countryside by purchase of land.

The author heavily bases his evidence (demonstrated by numerous tables and graphs) on the records of the chapter of Notre Dame and of the abbeys of Saint-Denis and Saint-Germain-des-Prés. He has also consulted the *Archives Nationales* and the *Archives départementales de Seine-et-Oise*. One of the most valuable aspects of his work is a long list of the local records and printed sources available; his general bibliography is adequate.

Rice University K. F. Drew

Modern Europe

THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE, A.D. 500–1850. By *B. H. Slicher van Bath*. Translated by *Olive Cornish*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 364. $9.00.)

This book primarily recounts the economic development of agriculture from A.D. 500 to 1850, and, considering the range and complexity of the history, the author has done the job rather well. Not since N. S. B. Gras has anyone attempted to cover such a large subject in such a small compass in English, and surely we can use works, which like this one, take a long-run view without sacrificing accuracy. Nevertheless, the work comes out not so much a synthesis as a sort of pudding. It is sophisticated, objective, and scholarly, but, contrary to the author's declaration, it is arranged by topics rather more than by chronology, and the same pieces of information keep reappearing. Furthermore, the same general time periods get reworked from several angles. Since all events are tied together, the author apparently cannot, for example, avoid mentioning the significance of thirteenth-century population levels in at least three different places, with about the same emphasis each time. This repetition makes a dull book, but sheer

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repetition does at least reveal the major developments in agrarian life between 500 and 1850.

Slicher van Bath rightly centers his story on varying soil fertility and on changing economic conditions. He concentrates on the problems of securing and using manures and the problems and opportunities arising from population fluctuations. He handles these topics thoroughly and authoritatively, clearly explaining all the subsidiary ramifications. Such things as human nutrition and malnutrition, their relation to population levels, and the connections between these and the general economic conditions (including matters of real wages, inflation, and deflation) are all carefully explored. As he relates his story, he merges these threads of narrative with newer elements, such as the introduction of pulses and legumes, which improved nutritional standards, reduced fallow periods, and increased soil fertility. Animal husbandry, in all its aspects, is assessed for its impact on, and relation to, general farming. The author not only notes the tremendous importance of the often sharp population fluctuations, but he also shows the effects of urban decline or growth.

The careful treatment of these several developments, with their reciprocal reactions, does, however, lead the author into balancing everything with everything, and thus never giving special weight to anything. This approach distorts reality, for although many considerations may weigh in men's decisions, men do have hierarchies of values, and they rank some things above others. Furthermore, not all exterior forces press on men equally. The author is so conscious of the multitude of influences and consequences in history that he never adequately sorts out the most important from the less important. Still, he effectively marshals the facts and assembles the work of a legion of scholars; the effort is not likely to be superseded very soon. This valuable history presents a compressed narrative of agrarian life across a long time span, and its resulting transcendent virtue is that it shows Europe to have been an economic unit throughout the years 500 to 1850. The book will prove most useful for economic and agricultural historians.

Iowa State University JOHN T. SCHLEBECKER

DIPLOMACY AND DOGMATISM: BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA AND THE FRENCH CATHOLIC LEAGUE. By *De Lamar Jensen.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 322. $6.95.)

PHILIP II's diplomatic and military interventions in the French civil wars have never been fully studied. Thus far only chapters in Braudel and Merriman, together with articles by De Törne, Mathorez, and L'Epinois scattered in French historical journals, have been at hand. Professor Jensen's researches have clearly broken new ground by presenting a full history of Spanish connivance with the Guise faction and the Catholic League at least from 1585 to 1591. His well-documented study is built around the dispatches of the aggressive Don Bernardino de Mendoza who was Philip's envoy to the French court. Previously Mendoza's

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activities have been neglected because many of his original letters have remained in cipher, and there is provided here an interesting appendix about the different code systems used during this embassy. The study begins with a detailed survey of the principal points of contention in the political duel between Catholics and Calvinists from 1559 to late in 1584 when Mendoza, after his expulsion from England, was sent to Paris. At that time the major focus of French politics was on the successor to Henry III. Since the nearest blood relative was the Huguenot Henry of Navarre, the Guise faction and the league were determined to nominate a Catholic contender. Philip II hoped by means of subsidies paid by Mendoza to influence the league to select a candidate who would be indebted to Spain for his accession to the French throne. In Jensen's view Philip's motive was to strike a mortal blow at Protestantism's hold in Northern Europe. "The 'invincible' Armada and the indomitable Mendoza were to be Philip's chief agents in this all out attempt to crush the revolt" against Catholicism. His appraisal of Mendoza's role is undoubtedly extravagant, but there is revealed here an ambitious Spaniard who was to become a leader in the policies of the "Council of Sixteen" in Paris, who was to rally the people about him in the "Day of the Barricades," and to contribute to the tension filled events that ended in Henry III's desperate plot to murder the Duke of Guise. Finally, because of ill health and the hostility of the French court, and even several members of the league, Mendoza was recalled to Spain.

There is a tendency here to inflate Mendoza's knowledge of events and his diplomatic skill in controlling them. The author is surely correct, however, in noting that for Mendoza diplomacy was "merely another arm of the military to be used by the king as he would his artillery." It is unfortunate that the author does not stress that the league in France was essentially a hybrid of personal Guise ambitions, urban economic grievances, and religious factionalism among Catholics, for the assertion that these military struggles were inspired by "narrow ideological concepts" is to view the French Counter Reformation through the slogans that were only its façade. It obscures the pragmatism that also guided Philip's complex ambitions in France and their link to his objectives in the Low Countries, which were by no means exclusively religious.

Fordham University ALBERT J. LOOMIE, S.J.

SOCIETY AND PURITANISM IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY ENGLAND. By *Christopher Hill*. (New York: Schocken Books. 1964. Pp. 520. $10.00.)

WITH a virtuoso display of learning not seen in a seventeenth-century specialist since the days of Sir Charles Firth, Christopher Hill here presents a sociological analysis of Puritanism. His object has been to cast a fresh eye upon familiar phenomena, such as Sabbatarianism, Puritan objections to oath taking, and the Puritan zeal for "discipline" against the background of the changing structure of English society. He sees Puritanism as the ideology of a particular social group made up in the main of the "honest, industrious sort of Englishman." Sabbatarian-

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ism now appears as a method of conducting industrial life on a more rational basis by doing away with the holydays of the medieval Church. "Discipline" was an economic as much as a religious watchword, the hallmark of a new economic society. Rapid economic development took place on the basis of cutthroat competition, in which the weakest went to the wall and the Puritan virtues enabled one to survive. A reversal of values took place between labor and contemplation. In short, the attitudes bound up with Puritanism were an essential ingredient of the social changes that took place in England in the first half of the seventeenth century and that marked the transition from the slow-moving agrarian Middle Ages to the progressive industrial society of modern England.

Hill's learning is freshly plucked from unread pamphlets, but for all that his argument is familiar in its emphasis upon "the economic appeal of puritan asceticism to industrious artisans and aspiring peasants in an age of nascent industrialisation." There is no doubt some truth in this, but it ignores the other side of the picture: the part played by the imaginative entrepreneur in seventeenth-century England. Hill implies that those most fitted to survive in an age of "cut-throat competition" were the small producers willing to work long hours seven days a week. But many economic historians would argue that the decisive boost to the English economy came from the rise of the re-export trade, for which the secret of success was expertise not hard work, panache not perspiration. The author takes the Puritan denunciations of idleness a little too literally. Perhaps they were merely a stock, economically illiterate, response to the phenomenon of unemployment. Perhaps, indeed, Puritanism was linked with the declining industries, as it is in Belfast today. In short Hill's economic model may be too simple for many tastes.

His use of sources demands closer examination than there is space for here, but I feel that he is open to the same kind of criticism that was leveled against Tawney, for choosing his evidence without enough regard for chronology and context. For example, he takes one of his key concepts, that of the "industrious sort of people" from a post-Restoration pamphleteer, Slingsby Bethel, though it is the period before the Civil War that is under discussion. The use of pamphlet literature for sociological analysis is full of dangers, and Hill has not succeeded in circumventing them to my satisfaction. On the other hand, the mention of Tawney's name is not accidental, for, as with Tawney, we are dealing with a historian of literary grace and powerful imagination. This book is indispensable reading for students of English history.

University of Sussex HUGH F. KEARNEY

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF DAVID HUME. By *John B. Stewart.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 422. $7.50.)

JOHN B. Stewart, a former college professor in the United States and now a member of the Canadian Parliament, has successfully reversed the field in modern studies of

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Hume. Instead of the customary emphasis on theory of knowledge, causation, and belief followed by meager treatment of the moral, economic, political, social, and religious consequences of Hume's basic principles, Stewart relegates the former to several lucid preliminary chapters and devotes the remainder of his book to the latter. In order to achieve this purpose, Stewart (or so I am convinced) has studied all of Hume's publications, including the essays, letters, *History of England,* and his biography, as well as the strictly philosophical works—an achievement that renders his conclusions more valuable than those which have been derived from the few well-known "purple passages." Stewart's primary purpose is to bring Hume up to date and to show that his philosophy is not only highly unified but that by implication it has pertinence for the modern world.

The unity of Hume's thought has long been disputed because he never completed his original intention of making the *Treatise of Human Nature* "a system of the sciences." Three books, *Of the Understanding, Of the Passions,* and *Of Morals,* were published (1739–40), but the proposed "Of Politics" and "Of Criticism" never appeared as such because the *Treatise* was largely neglected and totally misunderstood. Hume did put his views on political science and aesthetics into the popular essay form and rewrote the published sections of the *Treatise* with a view toward simplicity and conciseness. With his pervasive knowledge of Hume's writings, Stewart is able to reconstruct with considerable probability the unwritten sections of the *Treatise* and to express them in modern terminology.

While admitting personal doubts about Hume's overstatement of the effects of knowledge on conduct, his theory of history, and his "uncharitable" denunciations of historical religions, Stewart approves in general Hume's view of moral judgments as nonrational, his refutation of the rationalistic concept of natural law, and his advocacy of the abolition of restrictions on trade inspired by bullionism. The final chapter on "Civil Reform" presents Hume as a typical eighteenth-century liberal. The original, and frequently radical, interpretations of human nature, society, state, economics, and commerce might have been expected to have driven Hume into the position of advocating a complete reformation, or even revolution, in society and state. Such was not the case, however, because of Hume's ingrained antirationalism and his fundamental belief in the essential constancy of human nature. In reality, he believed in a progressive civilization achieved through controlled, rather than complete, laissez-faire competition. Unlike Burke, supreme spokesman of the age for conservative thought grounded on the traditions of the distant past, Hume is convinced that only the more or less recent past plays an important role in the present.

It remains only to say in this brief notice that Stewart has written in a cultivated, urbane, and even witty style a book that should transcend the ever-widening circle of readers of Hume to include many more who are interested in contemporary problems of society and government.

University of Texas ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER

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PORTRAIT OF A GENERAL: SIR HENRY CLINTON IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. By *William B. Willcox*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. xxii, 534, xiv. $8.95.)

HISTORIANS have long attempted to evaluate the place of Sir Henry Clinton in the British loss of the American Revolution, with their efforts usually resulting in less than adequate conclusions. In this definitive work, Professor Willcox, through long and arduous research, arrives at a convincing answer: Clinton played the key role. The author even uses psychotherapic scrutiny to bolster his vivid findings.

Readers are reminded that Clinton served as a British general here from the time of Bunker Hill through Yorktown, a period longer than any important commander on either side, with the exception of George Washington. When Clinton became the British commander in chief, his first big opportunity came in the Saratoga campaign. Although Clinton disclaimed the chief responsibility for this fiasco, the author utilizes the voluminous Clinton Papers at the University of Michigan to show that the general was vitally involved and thus could not shift the principal blame either to Howe or Burgoyne. Yet we are deftly led to realize that the military ideas of Clinton were generally sound. But when he served as subordinate to Howe, he could not get his plans accepted, with the notable exception of the battle for Long Island. Yet when Clinton became commander in chief, he could not seem to implement his plans effectively. And so he swayed sometimes grotesquely between the painful horns of a dilemma.

It is ironic to note in this impressive volume that Clinton was born the son of an admiral, became the brother-in-law of another, yet rarely could he get along with admirals in his own long military career. After rather commendable service in Germany during the Seven Years' War, he came to America as a major general along with Howe and Burgoyne. Willcox observes: "Perhaps he lacked what a British general needed to win fame in that war, the gift for spectacular failure. Gage is known for Lexington and Bunker Hill, Howe for letting Washington escape him, Burgoyne and Cornwallis for getting themselves captured. Clinton, whose successes were not balanced by any disaster for which he was directly responsible, is almost unknown."

This worthy book contributes not only the fullest biographical treatment of Clinton to date, but when details of his life are lacking in the source material, excellent accounts of the Revolution itself are entertainingly supplied. The general, like the author of this work, was disarmingly frank about shortcomings, especially those of the other British officers. Clinton seemed to have a nettling penchant for expressing what he regarded as the truth, often to his own disadvantage. He was courageous, and when he had the opportunity that he felt was appropriate, he fought. This quality of activity on the field of conflict was rare among the British commanders who were sent to America and who, for one reason or another, shied away from fighting the rebellious Americans.

Almost awesomely footnoted, the volume affords much new detail about the

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Revolution and Clinton, who still appears somewhat stiff. Even so he was human enough to be placated, when he became so piqued that he asked to be sent home, by accepting the Order of the Bath from his sovereign. And perhaps this honor was justified, the book points out, by his winning the most decisive victory of the British during the war when he made a classic investiture of Charleston, South Carolina. But Clinton's resulting elation was dampened by the execution of John André as a spy, which came not long afterward. Concluding that Clinton did not get along with himself, to say nothing of others, the author questionably includes a psychological analysis of his subject, which appears to be more nebulous than conclusive. Nonetheless, this book is an eminent contribution to the literature of the American Revolution.

New York University NORTH CALLAHAN

SPENCER PERCEVAL: THE EVANGELICAL PRIME MINISTER, 1762–1812. By *Denis Gray*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1963. Pp. xii, 506. $11.00.)

THIS biography of Spencer Perceval is the first since Spencer Walpole's two-volume work published in 1878. It is a political biography, all the more so since Perceval led a dull, if decorous, private life. For this reason the promise of the subtitle goes unfulfilled, since Perceval's evangelicalism influenced his private behavior but not his political. He acted as often in opposition to the Saints as with them, except on such an issue as the prohibition of the slave trade. Also somewhat misleading is the time span, 1762–1812, as the book, exclusively political in interest, concentrates on the last ten years of Perceval's life when his political contribution was greatest.

Perceval was the only Prime Minister to be assassinated, and it is to this somber fact that he owes his public repute. To his own age, however, he was a clever and competent politician, and his present biographer suggests, with good evidence, that only his untimely death robbed him and his reputation of the fruits of the final victory over Napoleon. Gray offers convincing proof that his hold on his cabinet was secure enough to have weathered the stormy years before 1815. In addition, the author strongly argues that his wartime budgets and his resistance to the siren calls of those who would have resumed specie payments were important contributions to the successful conclusion of the peninsular campaigns.

To the later nineteenth century, Perceval was a narrow, bigoted reactionary, whose resistance to Roman Catholic emancipation and political reform contributed significantly to the unfortunate era of repression that accompanied and followed the long war against France. There is no effort in Gray's book to reverse this judgment, although he softens it somewhat by references to Perceval's stand on factory reform, described as more advanced than that of Huskisson, of whom, by the way, he takes a very dim view indeed. We have then the picture of the competent politician, adroit in maneuver, capable of winning and holding personal

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loyalty and affection, of managing a difficult wartime economy, but without the vision, or, indeed, the desire to meet the needs of the future. He was a man of limited capacities, in Gray's view, thrust into prominence by political circumstances and a shortage of talent.

As the chronological limits of Namierism continue to expand, we learn more of the intricate interparty maneuverings that are especially confusing for the Napoleonic era. This work supplements, from the government's side, the old work of Michael Roberts, *The Whig Party, 1807–12* (1939), and the continuing flow from the editorial desk of Professor Aspinall.

Despite its scholarly value, one hopes not because of it, this book is virtually unreadable. This was partly owing to the author's failure to synthesize huge undigested segments of parliamentary debate and minutely chronicled cabinet negotiations, reported innuendo by innuendo. These do not make lively reading. All of this is rendered in a ponderous prose style relieved only occasionally by flashes of archness. What price scholarship?

University of Illinois, Chicago GORDON L. GOODMAN

THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS. By *E. P. Thompson.* (New York: Pantheon Books. 1964. Pp. 848. $15.00.)

E. P. THOMPSON'S *The Making of the English Working Class* describes the historical process that formed the English working class during the period between 1790 and 1830. The democratic hopes of the Radical artisans of the nineties, hopes heightened by the French Revolution, were crushed by the "long counter-revolution," climaxed by the trauma of Peterloo. Out of political repression and the pressures of the new industrialism, the English proletariat emerged, with its particular culture and institutions. By 1832, as Thompson tells us, it possessed that sense of separate identity which led Disraeli to speak of "two nations."

Much of the book is a running debate with previous interpretations (particularly that of T. S. Ashton) which have attempted statistical demonstrations that the standard of living of the English worker had improved during the early years of industrialism. Thompson brings persuasive evidence in support of the more "traditional" thesis of the Hammonds and others that the quality of life for the lowest classes in the new industrial order had seriously deteriorated. The author also parts company with the Fabian picture of the working class as "passive victims" of laissez faire. Indeed, one of the contributions of the work is Thompson's "secret history" of the English working class and his well-supported conclusion that the fears of revolution of the Home Office were not, as has usually been thought, a fantasy concocted by paid informers and believed by a government interested in excuses for repression. Thompson has no doubt as to the reality of Luddite and other working-class threats to the government. (Here, of course, he takes issue with the Hammonds.) One of the best chapters applies the insights of sociology and social psychology to the role of Methodism in forming the docile,

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industrious working class which the new capitalism required—"psychic exploitation," in Thompson's phrase.

The book is the peculiar product of the qualified Marxism of the present-day English "new left" and is a nostalgic evocation, in a time of relative affluence and stability, of a period when the working class was genuinely revolutionary. Thompson has set out "to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the 'obsolete' hand-loom weaver, the 'utopian' artisan, and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott, from the enormous condescension of posterity"; in this he has largely succeeded, as he has in his fresh insights into such men as Thelwall, Cobbett, Owen, and the remarkable Gravener Henson. The author's style of writing mirrors the turbulence of his subject, though he is nearly always in control of the mountains of evidence he has accumulated to hammer at the cupidity of nineteenth-century manufacturers and their present-day scholarly defenders. The din leaves the reader a bit breathless, as does the volume's, in good part unnecessary, length. (Nor does the book pretend to be a comprehensive history, as its length might suggest; it is, rather, a collection of studies on related themes.) Yet, despite all, Thompson has produced an admirable work of imaginative scholarship, which no student of the period will be able to neglect.

State University of New York, Stony Brook BERNARD SEMMEL

PENINSULAR PREPARATION: THE REFORM OF THE BRITISH ARMY, 1795–1809. By *Richard Glover*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 314. $8.00.)

IN 1795 the British Army was driven from the Continent in defeat. Little was seen of it there again until 1808–1809, when it began that series of majestic campaigns in the peninsula which restored its reputation and contributed greatly to Napoleon's downfall. In this book Mr. Glover, formerly of the University of Manitoba and now head of the new national historical museum in Ottawa, examines the improvements of the intervening years, which went far to make the peninsular triumphs possible. Based upon a wide range of printed and manuscript sources, written with unusual skill and verve—occasionally, perhaps, a bit overwritten—and never afraid to express opinions, *Peninsular Preparation* is valuable, vivid, and sometimes brilliant.

After giving a general account of British "military machinery" in his period, the author surveys the military establishment by such topics as supply, research, training, military education, and manpower. His own wartime experience as an officer makes a considerable contribution to the discussion, which materially widens our knowledge and understanding. Glover admires the "late, and great" Sir John Fortescue, but frequently disagrees with him. He shares the opinion, pretty general in recent years, that the energy, good sense, and prestige of the Duke of York provided the mainspring of army reform. He thinks ill of Pitt as a war leader. He concurs with Fortescue's high opinion of Castlereagh, has a very low view of William Windham, feels that Addington "has been much under-

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rated," and greatly praises the Duke of Richmond's administration of the ordnance. He follows other scholars—notably G. M. Trevelyan and J. S. Watson—in an unfortunate misreading of one of Fortescue's more important but less crystalline passages. Fortescue did not say that the British Army had 40,000 fatal casualties in the West Indies in 1793–1796; he said that it had 25,000 in the West Indies in 1794–1796, and 40,000 "in all quarters" in 1793–1796.

University of Toronto C. P. Stacey

JAMES MILL AND THE ART OF REVOLUTION. By *Joseph Hamburger.* [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 8.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 289. $6.50.)

The author, a political scientist, tells us in his preface that "This book grew out of (and interrupted) a study of Philosophic Radicalism," and indeed the title suggests an esoteric gleaning from the writings of Jeremy Bentham's foremost disciple. The book is much more than that, being in fact a thoroughly researched and thoughtful analysis of the Reform Bill agitation of 1831–1832, which challenges some of the common assumptions about that period. In this context, Mill's significance lies not so much in the direct part he played (though that was not negligible) but rather in his role as the most systematic and articulate exponent of the tactics used by the Millite Radicals in coercing a reluctant oligarchy to give up some of its powers.

One of the major contributions of this study is a careful examination of the technique of intimidation as practiced both outside and inside Parliament by Mill's associates. Given the conditions of 1831–1832—a widespread discontent with the political *status quo* and a new Whig government inclined to some measure of reform—what was needed was a "language of menace" to stiffen the cabinet and to convince the die-hards. "Mill's tactics required . . . that public feelings be formulated and interpreted in a portentous, even a threatening way, and that the public, and especially the government, be persuaded that this appearance correspond to the reality." The main agency to achieve this end was the press, which (with the sympathetic aid of Thomas Barnes of the *Times*) was influenced to a surprising degree by such leading figures as Francis Place in London and Joseph Parkes in Birmingham. These two were also the main "wirepullers" behind the scenes in the Radical political unions, the function of which, as Mill saw it, was to create or to foster the appearance of unanimity in reform demands.

These men were something less than scrupulous in their suppression or distortion of the true state of public feeling, both in the press and in their communications to ministers with whom they had inside connections. Professor Hamburger argues that historians—and even the standard biographer of Place—have been as misled by their "rhetoric of revolution" as were contemporaries. Place and the other Millite Radicals did not really believe in the dangers they so assiduously propagandized.

Nor, and this is the book's main revisionist theme, did the possibility of revolu-

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tion really exist even at the height of the Reform Bill agitation. Melbourne, closest to these events in the Home Office, and other Whig leaders saw the bill as preventing a distant revolution by leading the disaffected middle classes to "identify with the political order." After considering the evidence, the author in general concludes that it "cannot sustain the historical interpretation that sees revolution beneath the surface of events in 1831," much less 1832. As in reading some Neo-Namierite studies, the reader may be left with the question: "Then what was all the fuss about?"

There will be those who will not entirely agree with the answers given here. This is, nonetheless, an important book that demands (in the best Namierite sense) fresh consideration of a familiar subject.

Syracuse University A. R. Schoyen

THE LIBERAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND: THE "RAMBLER" AND ITS CONTRIBUTORS, 1848–1864. By *Josef L. Altholz.* (Montreal: Palm Publishers. 1962. Pp. x, 251. $5.00.)

From the historian's point of view, the liberal Catholic movement in England in the nineteenth century is an ideal movement. For all practical purposes, it consisted of just two members, Sir John, later Lord, Acton and Richard Simpson, his assistant editor on the *Rambler.* There was also a peripheral group, best represented by Newman, who were only guilty by association.

Professor Altholz begins by defining, or rather describing, liberal Catholicism. He argues that "it was an intellectual liberalism, characterized by an emphasis upon the legitimacy and value of intellectual sources independent of the authority of the Church." The dynamic, therefore, of liberal Catholicism in the nineteenth century, whether in England or on the Continent, was to be found in the dialogue between politics and theology, and not in either the purely liberal political or theological views of Catholics. One might almost go so far as to say the categories of St. Thomas-*cum*-Aristotle had finally to settle with the challenge presented by the Hegelian dialectic. "Roman Triumph," the epilogue to this volume, leaves no doubt as to what the response was to be for Catholics, at least in this philosophical confrontation. It is now easier to understand how Leo XIII was able to make his Thomistic revolution, and why Newman received his red hat.

For over ten years Acton and Simpson struggled to keep the *Rambler* alive in the face of clerical intimidation. When it finally succumbed as *The Home and Foreign Review* to the celebrated "Munich Brief" early in 1864, the good fight, though well fought, had been completely lost. In this contest with Rome and its agents, Acton and Simpson emerge as men of character, courage, and integrity. Such is not the case, however, with Newman. Whatever may be numbered among the great gifts of this remarkable man, moral courage in this struggle was not one of them. He was timid, he trimmed, he equivocated, and it was in these years he seems to have learned his theological trade as a minimalist. When one

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reads here how he dealt with ecclesiastical authority in general, his later emasculation of the dogmatic decrees concerning papal infallibility appears much less startling, and the continuing image of his having been a champion of liberal Catholicism is hardly understandable except as myth.

This volume is more than a genuine contribution to knowledge; it is a bonus to the understanding heart. The position of men like Acton and Simpson was cruel and sad, and their reaction to their situation not only tells us much about them, but about the Church of which they were members. Their Church had been at war since the Reformation. The continuing crisis resulted in tolerance and liberty being sacrificed to obedience and authority. Unable to submit in conscience and yet unwilling to oppose the Church's authority, Acton and Simpson had recourse to silence. The Church was, indeed, all things to some men.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology EMMET LARKIN

LORD SALISBURY AND FOREIGN POLICY AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *J. A. S. Grenville*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 14.] (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1964. Pp. x, 451. $8.00.)

THE focus of this important study is the momentous readjustment that took place in British foreign policy between 1895 and 1902. Exploiting a rich assortment of private and official papers, Grenville sets out to assess the struggle between Lord Salisbury, who identified himself with the Victorian tradition in foreign policy, and colleagues like Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Lansdowne, who wished to set Britain on a new course of "partial commitment." His sympathies are clearly with Salisbury and the techniques of avoiding alliances in time of peace, refusing prior commitments to go to war, and retaining a "free hand" for British diplomacy. Lansdowne's program after 1900, on the other hand, he finds seriously wanting. He argues that unlike Salisbury's, it was not based on settled principles, reflected the growing influence of the Admiralty on matters of policy, and, above all, was less predictable than in the past. The "ill-defined" commitments stemming from this new course he views as fraught with danger and, in the event, ineffective to arrest those developments which eventually led to two world wars. The reader's assumption follows, though, to be fair, Grenville nowhere states the position explicitly, that the author believes Salisbury's more conservative approach might have been more successful in achieving such an end.

To make his argument, Grenville presents a detailed account of foreign policy after 1895. Salisbury's handling of the Eastern Question and disengagement in Turkey, of Anglo-American tensions and expansion in Africa are examined as illustrations of his more or less traditional approach to major issues. Gradually, however, the crucial struggle within the cabinet begins to emerge, and the central part of the book is devoted to the struggle for control of policy between Salisbury and Chamberlain. Here, of course, the China crisis and the Cuban war, Fashoda

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and the emerging controversy in South Africa, and especially the politely bitter disagreement over a German alliance are the subjects of concern. With the Boer War and consequent pressure on Britain, only a minority of his colleagues continued to share Salisbury's position. The result within two years was the conclusion of Lansdowne's Anglo-Japanese alliance which signalized the new departure in foreign policy.

Grenville outlines these developments meticulously; his description of what actually was done and said is admirable. On the other hand, although he recognizes that age and illness conspired to make Salisbury function less efficiently during his last tenure of office, his admiration for his subject tends to cause him to neglect the changes that were making Salisbury's policy less realistic with each passing year. Grenville's study should be used in conjunction with G. W. Monger's *The End of Isolation: British Foreign Policy 1900–1907* (1963) where it is argued that the imperialist mood prevalent in Europe and America, driving France and Russia, Germany and the United States to be great imperial and naval powers, posed altogether new and unprecedented threats to the British Empire. Together the two books make a most rewarding contribution to our further understanding of British diplomacy at the turn of the twentieth century.

Rutgers University HENRY R. WINKLER

THE PARTY OF HUMANITY: ESSAYS IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Peter Gay*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. xiii, 290, viii. $6.95.)

IN these collected essays we are given variations upon the author's conviction that "we have as much to learn from the philosophical thought of the Enlightenment as from any other philosophical movement—perhaps more." He holds that, in their struggle to restructure and reform their world, the philosophes identified only two serious enemies—Christianity and the idea of hierarchy—and that their final achievement was an image of the world "distinctively modern—secular, deterministic, scientific, pragmatic." He contends that "specialists" have long since discarded the notion that the philosophes were frivolous, held a doctrine of progress, were simple rationalists, or hoped for despotic governments. In short, Gay wishes to enhance our appreciation of those he believes to be our spiritual godfathers, men who not only founded "the party of humanity" but who also pointed the party in the direction of a new Canaan.

Despite the unity of theme, the work is uneven. In "Reading about Rousseau," Gay is at his best. After a sober survey of the literature of the recent past, a blueprint for a biography of Rousseau shows how we must include at least six major aspects of the man if we are to know who he was and catch the full measure of his thought. This is recommended especially for those who are confident they know Rousseau.

The three essays devoted to Voltaire are much less convincing. Whether it is

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an extended encomium of his *Dictionnaire Philosophique* or a rationale for his anti-Semitism, Gay finds Voltaire, if not entirely *sans peur,* then very nearly *sans reproche.* I think it was Voltaire who said, "No man was ever so wicked as to deserve a hagiographer." In Gay, Voltaire may have found his Parson Weems.

We may attribute the unevenness to a shifting focus. Some of the essays are offered as a new genre, a "social history of ideas," and some are frankly in the polemical tradition. Such a mixture can not only disarm criticism—a polemic is responded to only with silence, or another polemic—but the danger is that the author may be unaware that he is moving from one genre to another in a single essay. When, for instance, he says that Diderot's position on sex in the *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* represents a "complete and positive repudiation of Christian morality" and on the same page he tells us that the prevailing emotion in the book is "love," we wonder: which genre is in the ascendant?

As a partisan of the philosophes, Gay insists upon the essential novelty of their work and upon the rigor of their secular devotion. That some eighteenth-century members of the party of humanity may have acted as though they espoused a "religion of humanity" is anathema. To suggest that still others not only failed to be original, but might indeed have owed something to the Christian tradition, is the very abomination of desolation. The two most vehement and humorless essays cover these themes. "Rhetoric and Politics in the French Revolution" purports to show that no part of the Revolution can be seriously compared with a secular religion, and "Carl Becker's Heavenly City" is declared not only to be wrong, but to have "conservative implications." Despite its strong points, the chief impression left by Gay's book is that the Heavenly City of some twentieth-century philosophers is to be found in the eighteenth century.

Michigan State University STANLEY J. IDZERDA

ÉTUDES ORLÉANAISES. Volume I, CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE DES STRUCTURES SOCIALES À LA FIN DU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE; Volume II, SUBSISTANCES ET MAXIMUM (1789–AN IV). By *Georges Lefebvre.* [Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution. Mémoires et documents, Number 15.] (Paris: the Commission. 1962; 1963. Pp. 276; 476.)

HALF a century ago, when Alphonse Aulard and his disciples dominated the field, studies of the French Revolution were largely confined to the political aspect. Works of social and economic history were rare, and regional investigations were exclusively in the hands of antiquarians more interested in the stones of cathedrals than in the lives of the construction workers who built them and the worshippers who prayed within them. All this has changed, however, largely through the efforts of Jaurès, Mathiez, and, not least of all, Georges Lefebvre. Today we understand the necessity of closely scrutinizing local conditions as a step toward a new synthesis.

These two volumes, the last Lefebvre wrote before his death in 1959, are

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classics of their type. The fruit of a lifetime of research, they are a model of method and analysis.

What is most important about these books is precisely their method. The focus is primarily on the maximum and the problem of food supply during the Revolution. One might expect, therefore, that the treatment would be narrowly economic. Happily, this is not the case. Nowhere does Lefebvre allow himself to fall into the trap of writing as though he were dealing with a closed model, an ideal type. He is always sensitive to the need for exercising historical imagination in the interpretation of his subject matter. Economic history takes on meaning for him only as it is understood as a function of social structures, collective mentalities, and political behavior. The result is the kind of history that Marc Bloch used to call for—a history of men in all their diversity.

Lefebvre begins his work with a discussion of the countryside surrounding the city of Orléans, the area that was later to constitute the department of the Loiret. With a mastery of agricultural detail that few historians can match, he shows the differences that existed between the rich grain-growing land of the Beauce, the less fertile Gâtinais, and the vineyards of the Val. In all areas save the Gâtinais, the proportion of bourgeois and noble property was high, and the peasants were consequently less than well provided for. And even among the peasants, inequality of condition served to exaggerate the plight of some, particularly the landless day laborer. Although there may have been great differences between the styles of life of a farmer in the Beauce and a sharecropper in Sologne, they had in common their poverty and their ignorance. Weighed down by high costs of production, by taxes and seigneurial dues, they lacked above all a consciousness of their alternatives, and this in turn increased their degradation. Even a normally productive year was difficult; a crop failure brought disaster. The evidence Lefebvre produces would seem to support Professor Labrousse's celebrated thesis.

The peasant, because of a lack of political rights and his own indifference, played only a minor role in the earliest stages of the Revolution. His desires found their way into the *cahiers* through the grace of the large landowners, if at all. But the same was not true in the cities.

Orléans was the capital and principal city of the Loiret. It had become important largely because of its excellent road and canal connections with the principal cities of France, but the construction of new transportation and communication networks at the end of the eighteenth century threatened this advantage. Competition in the principal industries was growing more intense. Despite its relative prosperity, the economy of the city remained traditional, highly dispersed, poorly equipped, and almost completely subordinated to the guild system, which was struggling to maintain itself in the face of new developments. The dynamic element was made up of commercial men—the *négociants*—who provided the capital for new enterprises and gave work to the artisans.

Politically speaking, the *négociants* and the nobility controlled Orléans. These diverse elements were brought together by similar habits, a common consideration for birth and fortune, an equal dislike of lowering class barriers in their frequenta-

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tions and marriages, a pride in their status, and a scorn for all that smacked of the people. They controlled the municipality, and in the early stages of the Revolution their wishes predominated. Lefebvre goes so far as to call this group the "high society" of Orléans, and he sees this conception as more fundamentally important than the artificial distinction between the nobility and the upper reaches of the Third Estate. The nobility was too diversified to form a meaningful grouping around a common program or ideology. Nobles had no faith, either political or religious, that was peculiar to them. As a result, they joined with the upper bourgeois to protect their interests, even if this meant giving way to bourgeois conceptions of legal equality and loss of fiscal privilege. The evidence used to back up this argument is impressive. If the same were to prove true of other large cities, our traditional concept of the nobility, already much challenged, would have to be totally revised.

It is principally in his second volume that Lefebvre deals with the sans-culottes. This political class made up of both employing and employed artisans and shopkeepers had failed to participate in the advance of the eighteenth-century economy. They had become increasingly subject to the control of the commercial men who had taken hold of the market for their products. Wages had failed to rise as quickly as prices, especially in the *bonneterie,* the hose and hat manufacture that was the chief industry of Orléans. There were, moreover, conflicts among the sans-culottes. When the employing artisan got less for his produce from the *négociant,* he of course passed on this disadvantage to his employee. The employee in turn was dissatisfied, but he did not have a clear idea of how to ameliorate his situation. He most often turned to the authorities (automatically and with some reason identified with the rich) to give him work and a decent salary. If they refused, he blamed them for his resultant inability to procure the bread that was necessary for continued survival. The way was open for political action.

These demands for bread and work formed the basic program of the sans-culottes; the question was how best to realize them. And here the precarious nature of the sans-culotte party becomes clear. The creation of a maximum on grains was beneficial to many urbanites, but the same was not true of the general maximum. Too many of the sans-culottes, especially the employing artisans, saw no reason to be forced to sell their goods at fixed prices and to pay their workers a set wage. Only the wage earners could profit fully from this program. This antagonism between the diverse elements of the sans-culotte party in the end destroyed it. And the alliance with the Mountain did not help, for the *Montagnards* were themselves much attached to the principle of private property and were consequently wary of pushing government intervention further than was necessary to maintain the war effort. The maximum was never strictly enforced. When it was in part, it prevented the worst from happening: the abject misery that appeared after its suppression. But the failure to go far enough and to apply the Terror to its enforcement fully and completely made it only occasionally successful and at the same time exacerbated the conflicts among the sans-culottes.

There is little to be said in criticism of these volumes. It is to be hoped that

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other historians will now follow the lead of the late master who continues to serve us.

New York University JEFFRY KAPLOW

LA SECONDE RÉPUBLIQUE DANS LA RÉGION ALPINE: ÉTUDE POLITIQUE ET SOCIALE. Volume I, LES NOTABLES (VERS 1845–FIN 1848); Volume II, LES PAYSANS (1849–1852). By *Philippe Vigier*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, Series "Recherches," Numbers 3 and 4.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. 333; 527. 18 fr.; 25 fr.)

THIS is one of the magistral regional studies that are the admiration and despair of foreign historians of France. Vigier discerns a sufficient geographic, economic, and social unity in the departments of the Isère, Hautes-Alpes, Basses-Alpes, Drôme, and Vaucluse for them to comprise a historically meaningful "Alpine region." There is a unity, too, in the almost unique regional response to the consequences of 1848. In a sense, the author's major object is to explain why "these countryfolk who had by and large greeted the birth of the new regime with indifference rose up by the thousands in December, 1851, to defend the *'République des paysans'* against Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*."

Having established the historical coherence of his region, Vigier scrupulously elaborates its divisions. He identifies three major zones—the mountains, the plains, and the intermediate plateau country—with distinctive, if overlapping, economic and social configurations. Then each department is treated as a unit of much more than administrative significance, and within and across the departments are situated a great variety of crucial social and political institutions. His attention to minute distinctions, often presented topically, department by department, rather clogs the analysis, but it does not obscure the significant general outlines that emerge from the mosaic of local realities.

At the end of the July Monarchy regional politics were characterized by apathy and the petty factionalism of the Notables who dominated the inert countryside. The lower classes suffered the depression of 1846–1848 more placidly than elsewhere and greeted the news of the February Revolution with less apparent interest. Nevertheless, the republic produced at Paris won immediate and universal acceptance. By the December elections, however, the moderate republicans had lost their original initiative and support. Louis Napoleon's crushing victory seemed a local triumph of the party of order over the "red republicans," but actually reflected the emergence of the rural masses as an autonomous force. Their stirrings, mistakenly ignored by the republicans, were not to be confined by the prestige of the conservative Notables, nor directed into Bonapartist channels. It is here that Vigier's region diverges from the national pattern because a considerable segment of the Alpine peasantry would join in an active resistance both to the old social order and the new administrative machine. As general economic conditions slowly

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improved, the situation of small farmers rapidly deteriorated and a long period of falling prices and contracting credit guaranteed their discontent. Many responded to the appeal of the *Montagnards* who had wrested republican leadership from the moderates and whose evocation of a peasant republic helped them to striking successes in the elections of May 1849. Terrified by these results, Orleanists, legitimists, and Bonapartists united behind the repression of the republican menace. Their own divisions, however, contributed to a vigorous republican revival in 1851. After the various prohibitions of open dissent and the suffrage restriction of May 1850, the republic of the peasants and *petites gens* was confined to secret societies whose existence reinforced the conservative apprehensions of the revolutionary possibilities of 1852. When these were allegedly forestalled by the *coup d'état,* the republican societies led that remarkable resistance which actually put one Alpine department briefly into the hands of the rebels. The peasants, petty artisans, and small shopkeepers who rose against the *coup d'état* were no murderous *Jacquerie;* nor were they legalistic defenders of the constitution. They fought for a better social system, and the dimensions of their resistance justified Louis Napoleon's rape of the constitution to many of his conservative opponents.

After the harsh but controlled extirpation of the republican movement in the Alpine departments Louis Napoleon would attempt to establish a *bonapartisme populaire* to replace the *bonapartisme des notables.* The revival of the agricultural economy and the establishment of desperately desired credit facilities would bring some success while the classic local interests and antagonisms of the old political and social elites would often frustrate the policy.

Though the Alpine *République des paysans* was efficiently strangled in its cradle, it was survived by a tradition that made the region one of the great centers of strength for the republicans of the Third Republic.

State University of Iowa ALAN B. SPITZER

IMPERIAL SPAIN, 1469–1716. By *J. H. Elliott.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. 411. $7.95.)

THOUGH this book stresses the social and economic development of Spain from the date of the union of Castile and Aragon to the accession of the Bourbon dynasty, political aspects are not neglected, and the lively text sparkles now and then with pithy capsule portraits of monarchs and of the favorites who ruled for as well as over some of them. In a brief analysis of the separate histories of Aragon, Catalonia, and Castile, Dr. Elliott shows the unequal stage of development of the various kingdoms at the period of unification, a phenomenon largely accountable for the direction of the subsequent political evolution of Spain, which he traces well. He clarifies many of the confusing events preceding the Habsburg succession and comprehensively presents the movement of the *comunidades.* The reign of Charles V is also related in fascinating detail, the history of its finances and the

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causes of Spain's ensuing miseries lucidly explained. But can one describe the imperialism of Charles V, as it is done here, as essentially static in character? To all appearances it was nothing, if not dynamic. Fear of this ambitious monarch's real aspirations to "universal" imperium had the most far-reaching consequences; among others were: driving France into alliance with Turks and Lutherans, precipitating the success of the Reformation in Germany, keeping the populace of Italy in almost perpetual anti-imperialist rebellion. In his turbulent reign, acting under the influence of his imaginative advisers—from Gattinara to the Granvelles—the Emperor made war continually, covering Spain, the deepest source of his power, with glory, but, all for his imperialist schemes, sacrificing manpower and, as the author himself absorbingly shows, wealth. Was not Charles V the first ruler of Habsburg Spain with plans for the future of a world-wide monarchy, instead of the Conde-Duque Olivares, as it is said here? This is the only instance in this excellent book where one might disagree with the author's sound interpretation.

In his superb pages on Catalonia in the seventeenth century, Elliott obviously draws on the results of his research for his recent book on the Catalan Revolt. For specific events in Granada he availed himself of K. Garrad's unpublished research into the causes of the second rebellion in the Alpujarras. Otherwise he uses standard histories and specialized studies of Spain. For a book that dispenses with footnotes, this is a scholarly work of astounding solidity. Elliott's contribution thus consists in summarizing many lengthy and often inaccessible works of specialists. The synthesizing narrator, if he is artist, scholar, and master of conciseness at once, does the student of history a great service. Also that mythical personage, the general reader, has cause to admire, in *Imperial Spain,* a virtuoso performance.

Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study ERIKA SPIVAKOVSKY

BESCHEIDEN BETREFFENDE DE BUITENLANDSE POLITIEK VAN NEDERLAND, 1848–1919. Second Period, 1871–1898. Volume I, 1871–1874. Edited by *J. Woltring.* [Rijks geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Number 107.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1962. Pp. xx, 809.)

BESCHEIDEN BETREFFENDE DE BUITENLANDSE POLITIEK VAN NEDERLAND, 1848–1919. Third Period, 1899–1919. Volume I, 1899–1903; Volume IV, 1914–1917. Edited by *C. Smit.* [Rijks geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Numbers 100 and 109.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1957; 1962. Pp. xvi, 802; xiv, 774.)

THE importance of this series is well illustrated by Professor Amry Vandenbosch's recent *Dutch Foreign Policy since 1815: A Study in Small Power Politics* (1959). Vandenbosch had at his disposal a large number of secondary sources, as well as documentary publications issued by other governments. For the kingdom of the Netherlands itself, he had to rely for the years to 1920 on the debates of the States-General and an intermittent series of *Orange Books.* The older *Orange*

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Books, in particular, were masterpieces of concealment rather than of communication. In many cases documents were paraphrased; omissions within a single item were not indicated by dots, and there was no way of knowing how many items were entirely suppressed. The very limited nature of the available documentation gave *Dutch Foreign Policy* a rather episodic character. This was especially true in Vandenbosch's treatment of the nineteenth century. While our debt to him remains large, the appearance of this series is a substantial contribution to the field. Eventually it will cover the entire period 1848–1919.

We must be very grateful for what we have. Even so, it is necessary to point out a number of factors limiting the value of *Documents concerning Dutch Foreign Policy.* The editors were obliged to be selective in their choice of official papers. This is not a serious problem in the first of the volumes under review; it a moderately serious one in the second, and even more of a problem in the third. Secondly, access to various private archives was denied. The most important of these missing archives is that of the Queen of the Netherlands, who is apparently reluctant to permit searches in the papers of her mother or grandfather. Thus the Royal Archives are closed for the entire period since 1849. Thirdly, the editors have followed standard Dutch practice and have not always reprinted documents published elsewhere, even when, as in the case of the *Orange Books,* the original publication was in such a mangled form as to be misleading. Not many American or English libraries have complete runs of these earlier publications, and students must be warned that they will have to travel widely in order to get the full story. Within these limitations, the quality of the editorial work appears to be extremely high.

The unification of Germany made it necessary for the Dutch to come to terms with their other neighbors if they were to preserve their national independence. The first of these volumes contains many items on the three separate English treaties of 1871 which led to a *détente* between the two empires. There was also a substantial improvement of relations, and a treaty, with Belgium. Relations with Venezuela were less pleasant. Nonetheless, the Minister and his three chief assistants were able to divide the business of the Foreign Office, with the Minister himself handling much of the work by letters written in longhand. Although the work of the Foreign Office had become more complex by 1899, its structure was still very simple. Less attention is devoted to imperial problems in general in this second volume, but there is a quantity of material on the Venezuelan crisis and the work of Theodore Roosevelt in achieving its solution. A large number of important documents reinterpret the progress of the Boer War, and a substantial number of entries refer to the Boxer uprising. The final volume, covering the years 1914–1917, is naturally devoted entirely to World War I, and there is much new and important material on the activities of the Netherlands Overseas Trust, a private firm that took over Dutch imports at this time because it could promise that goods would not be exported to Germany. The government could not do so without compromising its neutrality. Since telegrams were gen-

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erally sent in French, these three volumes will be of use even to those who do not read Dutch. The dispatches, of course, are in the mother tongue.

University of North Carolina STEPHEN B. BAXTER

GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN LANDWIRTSCHAFT VOM FRÜHEN MITTELALTER BIS ZUM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Wilhelm Abel.* [Deutsche Agrargeschichte, Volume II.] (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer. 1962. Pp. 333. DM 37.80.)

GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN AGRARVERFASSUNG VOM FRÜHEN MITTELALTER BIS ZUM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Friedrich Lütge.* [Deutsche Agrargeschichte, Volume III.] (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer. 1963. Pp. 269. DM 39.80.)

DIE DEUTSCHE LANDWIRTSCHAFT IM TECHNISCHEN ZEITALTER. By *Heinz Haushofer.* [Deutsche Agrargeschichte, Volume V.] (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer. 1963. Pp. 290. DM 39.80.)

THESE three books represent Volumes II, III, and V of a projected five-volume set, entitled "Deutsche Agrargeschichte," under the general editorship of the well-known agricultural historian, Günther Franz, also the author of Volume IV. The idea for this series originated in the *Gesellschaft für Geschichte des Landvolkes und der Landwirtschaft.* Its obvious purpose is to serve as a set of handbooks in the field.

Volumes II and III were written by outstanding scholars whose researches and publications on the subjects with which they deal go back several decades. In both Lütge's and Abel's books one feels that he is reading the synthesis of long and highly productive careers. Dealing with subjects of great complexity, the authors give the impression of being in total control of their material. They fulfill the tasks of a handbook author very competently: they present the framework of the subject, suggest the controversies that have arisen on certain points, and give their own considered judgment as to their solutions. Furthermore, they locate areas where additional research would be welcome. Both books, possibly Lütge's more than Abel's, stress the heterogeneous character of Germany, a fact that seems too often ignored by both foreign and German observers, who tend to stress the Prussian-Hohenzollern experience while reducing the role of the rest of Germany. Nevertheless both authors fail to acknowledge the perennial problem of national histories: What is to be done with the nation's history before that nation existed? Did the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation constitute Germany? If so, then the Burgundian, Austrian, Bohemian, and other parts would have to be included. This would encroach on French, Belgian, Czechoslovak, Swiss, Austrian, Polish, and other national histories. As it stands, one gets the feeling that the authors probably had the geographical limits of republican Germany in mind.

There is a significant difference in approach between Abel and Lütge. In his book, with its theme the general history of German agriculture, Abel, recently

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appointed professor of social and economic history at the University of Göttingen, uses a basically economic approach. He depicts and analyzes broad economic movements according to theoretic criteria, making full use of the numerous price and wage studies that have been published. Along with its quantitative emphasis the book also pays careful attention to the technological aspects of agriculture. In my opinion, Abel's book lives up to the promise of its broad title: it is indeed a history of German agriculture.

Lütge's volume provides good balance. The picture of German agriculture from the early Middle Ages to the nineteenth century is thus rounded out by a competent and informative history of German law and legal customs relating to agriculture. Lütge, professor of social and economic history at the University of Munich, more than the other authors, shows the multifaced aspects of Germany by paying detailed attention to the legal relationships of peasants and farmers in the various parts of Germany. Based as it must be on the laws, which many times are better demonstrations of good intentions than they are reflections of fact, the book tends to give an over-all impression of greater peasant well-being than may be warranted.

Both Abel's and Lütge's books have clearly defined areas of competence, and both carry out their assignments competently. Haushofer's volume, on the other hand, is more formless. It leaves the reader the impression of a compilation of numerous essays on particular topics loosely fitted together in book form. I am not quite sure that I understand the purpose of the title itself, which raises questions of definition that are not answered in the book. A thread of technological and scientific progress in agriculture runs through the narrative. It is replete with biographical sketches of men who aided in the advancement of German agriculture. Thaer, Liebig, and others come in for prominent attention. But so do the problems, if not always explicitly, raised by the urbanization and industrialization of the country. There are essays on the agricultural associations and societies that aided in progress and those that were founded as defenses against a seemingly increasingly hostile environment. Here the geographical problem had to be squarely faced, the agricultural organizations before Bismarck's *Reich* being *grossdeutsch,* that is, including Austria, and thereafter retreating within their new national borders.

As a reference book, Haushofer's volume has some merit. In comparison to the other volumes here discussed, it is conspicuous for the absence of any unifying theme. This may well be a reflection of the 150 years of flux that Germany, and for that matter much of the world, has experienced. In a way the author, an official in the federal Ministry of Agriculture, set himself an impossible task by including legal, social, technological, scientific, and political changes as they pertain to agriculture and its practitioners. Within the narrow space allowed him, he could hardly do justice to all. Regretfully, too, Haushofer limited his bibliography almost totally to German-language material. This in itself reduces the value of the book as a source of references; in any case, the reference citations

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seem rather scanty. Lastly, I believe that he should have treated the emergence of an international economy more explicitly and more analytically. For that purpose a comparative approach, which Abel used to good purpose, could well have produced interesting results.

In conclusion, there is no question that the volumes of this series must be consulted by anyone interested in German agricultural history. They may even serve as models for the histories of other countries. For the American reader they not only represent a good survey of German agricultural history; they also make him more aware of the significant difference in the development of American and European agriculture. How different are the problems discussed, for example, by Haushofer on the one hand and Paul W. Gates on the other hand concerning conditions in the first half of the nineteenth century! Where Haushofer still deals with the freeing of peasants from servile obligations, Gates in *The Farmer's Age* must consider primarily the settlement of a vast land mass. By the second half of the century, however, the problems tend to be more similar. Fred A. Shannon's *Farmer's Last Frontier,* like Haushofer's sections on that period, has to deal more and more with the troubles that agriculture faced than with the opportunities that it presented for a better life.

Tulane University HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

A HISTORY OF MODERN GERMANY: 1648–1840. By *Hajo Holborn.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. xii, 531, xxvi. $10.75.)

CAN the same book do for teacher and for scholar? There are two main reasons for the interest with which this volume has been awaited: first, the hope that out of his learning and experience Professor Holborn might have found a way of taking hold of this complex period that would yield better sense and coherence than have been attained so far; and second, the need for an inclusive general history that would free us for our own interpretive sallies and pointed vignettes in lecture hall and seminar. Here he has on the whole rejected the first mandate for the sake of the second. He has put together an immense amount of information, much of it heretofore impossible to find in English—notably material on the smaller principalities and towns—and much of it difficult to find at all. Scattered through the text are discerning comments on matters ranging from diplomacy to theology. But much of this store of information seems to be present less because of its bearing on other elements of the book than because it is the kind of thing that is usually thought important, and it occurred in early modern Germany.

To point this out is not so much to criticize Holborn's treatment as it is to describe the existing state of scholarship in early modern German history; by trying to encompass its main elements in a general account he has committed himself to these structural ailments. Probably it is at present impossible to fufill both mandates at once. Difficulty with continuity and coherence is an old story in German historiography, especially for this period. Commonly an asset is made of this difficulty by incorporating it into a predominantly pathological scheme of

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seeking out what did not happen, what was wrong, the fragmentation, the stagnation, and so on. Thus Holborn's first section (1648–1790) describes a decline and absence of civic spirit, a separation of private morals and culture from developing political power. This negative theme becomes explicit in the second section, where, after an expert and devoted chapter on "German Idealism and Neohumanism," he describes the period of the French Revolution and German reform and liberation as one in which "the intellectual and spiritual movement . . . seemed to move closer to politics"; then "the growth of a productive interaction between the idealism of the age of Kant and Goethe and the practical interests of the nation . . . was suddenly interrupted" by the restoration and Metternich. In this volume, despite the stated terminal date of 1840, there is no general description of political or economic events of the thirties, nor of liberal ideas; but figures like Ranke and Marx are described in the final chapter on "The Transition from Idealism to Realism."

It seems clear that an important reason why this two-century period has received small credit among scholars is that it is hard to make sense out of it, that is, the kind of sense one usually looks for. And so there have been few general treatments of it, and so it has been hard to teach and rarely taught. Holborn's effort to break this circle may be the most important service given the development of this field of study in America in recent years—not so much because of new ideas he has planted as because of the kind of college course this volume will encourage, and then through the mutual stimulation of teaching and research.

Harvard University MACK WALKER

PREUSSEN ALS HISTORISCHES PROBLEM: GESAMMELTE ABHANDLUNGEN. By *Carl Hinrichs*. Edited by *Gerhard Oestreich*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 10.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1964. Pp. 430.)

CARL Friedrich Hinrichs (1900–1962), the last "Prussian" historian, was born in Prussian Friesland at the height of Prussia's imperial power and lived to see the disappearance not only of the dynasty but of Prussia itself. His teacher, Otto Hintze, the author of *Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk* (1915), invited the young scholar to work in the Prussian archives, and as a result Hinrichs published in 1933 his *Die Wollindustrie in Preussen unter Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, on the strength of which he received in 1939 his *Habilitation* at the University of Berlin. Two years later his principal work appeared, a biography of *Friedrich Wilhelm I., König in Preussen,* which, though a book of more than seven hundred pages, covered only the King's younger years until the beginning of his reign. A second volume never was finished, but many later essays, partly reproduced in the present volume, dealt with the personality and influence of the Prussian soldier-king. He remained the central concern of Hinrichs' understanding of the Prussian problem.

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For reasons of foreign policy Friedrich Wilhelm ruthlessly "modernized" his poor and backward country, as Peter the Great did Russia at about the same time. But the Prussian ruler built his permanently mobilized country, so different from the other states of his time, not only on more efficient and financially sounder foundations; his personal life and his whole work were permeated with the spirit of Calvinist-puritan discipline and rationality. Under the soldier-king Prussia's growth remained "ein inneres Wachstum, bewirkt durch die Quantität und Qualität seiner militärischen Rüstung und die Gesundheit seiner Finanzen und seiner Wirtschaft." Only after the King's death did many of his successors use the foundations he had laid as an instrument for conquest and expansion, until they reached out and overreached themselves twice in a "Griff nach der Weltmacht."

Whereas, in the West, Calvinism and puritanism strengthened the middle classes, and indirectly political liberty, in Prussia they helped to militarize the whole life and subordinated the middle class to the officers' caste. "Der Adel als Offizierstand konnte schliesslich das Sozialprestige bei sich monopolisieren," as Hinrichs writes, which explains that all the revolutions in Prussia and in Prussian Germany were revolutions from above. The initial one was Friedrich Wilhelm's, "in der die Weichen für die Zukunft unwiderruflich gestellt wurden." In the present volume's first essay, "Preussen als historisches Problem," an unpublished address delivered in Berlin in 1956, Hinrichs regards as Prussia's "eigentliches Problem das Misslingen einer bürgerlichen Revolution." It was the Prussian Army under the future Wilhelm I that put in 1849 an end to the last attempt of such a revolution in non-Prussian Germany.

Hinrichs became in 1951 Meinecke's successor at the Free University of Berlin. His publications broadened from Prussia's early eighteenth century backward to the periods of Reformation and baroque and forward to Ranke, with whom he dealt in his last finished book *Ranke und die Geschichtstheologie der Goethezeit* (1954). The present collection of Hinrichs' "Aufsätze und Vorträge" covers all the three fields. Students of German history will be grateful to the editor, Gerhard Oestreich, for having made these essays, three of them previously unpublished, easily accessible in a handsome and well-printed volume. Hinrichs was not only a diligent student of Prussian archival material; he approached his subjects with a broad historical understanding, and he was above all a lucid and artful writer whose work it is a pleasure to read.

University of Texas HANS KOHN

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN IMPERIAL GERMANY: A STUDY IN WORKING-CLASS ISOLATION AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION. By *Guenther Roth*. Preface by *Reinhard Bendix*. (Totowa, N. J.: Bedminster Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 352. $8.50.)

PRESENT interests nearly always promote new perspectives on past problems. Influenced by two decades of research on the issues of industrialization and moderniza-

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tion in "developing areas," Guenther Roth takes a fresh look at the old problem of social democracy in the German Empire. Although his work is based on conventional sources, his interpretations are original; they expand very considerably the traditional accounts of Ritter, Schorske, Gay, and Berlau.

The author claims allegiance to the discipline of political sociology, and his study employs a shifting variety of conceptual frameworks. For example, he discusses and modifies Robert Michels' "iron law of oligarchy" as it applies to the stagnation of leadership in the German Social Democratic party; he outlines Max Weber's brilliant and rarely noted critique of Imperial Germany's political system; and he draws heavily on the categories of analysis developed by Pareto, Bendix, Lipset, and Philip Selznick. Throughout his work, he treats the role of labor in this period of German history as a case study of "one important instance of the struggle for democratization in a rapidly industrializing world."

How does such a medley of approaches turn out in the end? What do we know now that we did not know before about the labor movement in Germany and labor protest in general? I think the answer is quite a bit, and perhaps in the future much more. Roth describes with remarkable clarity the way an independent class-conscious workers' movement emerged in Germany after 1870. In a sense the Social Democratic party existed by reason of its opposition to a multitude of incompatible enemies. Decade after decade it confronted the unyielding hostility of emperors, chancellors, Prussian conservatives, and bourgeois liberals; later it found new foes in the radical Marxist wing of its own party. But the politics of internal warfare had their price; the party moved further and further into a position of self-imposed isolation.

The major merit of this study is the social-scientific analysis of the isolated labor subculture. The author explains the inner meaning of social democracy to its members: the satisfactions of social solidarity, political exclusiveness, and cultural pride. To these fulfillments were added the special solace of a denatured Marxist ideology that the leaders paradoxically expressed through radical rhetoric and watered-down policies. By 1890 "scientific socialism" served as a core of cohesive alienation for all party theoreticians in their resistance to the increasing intransigency of the government. Finally, Roth describes the duel between Germany's social classes as a striking example of "negative integration." Although the labor subculture was effectively excluded from political power and social acceptability, it nevertheless retained many of the values of the dominant culture. It never fully escaped the seductions of German *Kultur* and patriotism. Moreover, the government actively fostered the consolidation of the party's outcast status, and this policy of permissive segregation opened up all sorts of possibilities for governmental control and dissipation of tensions. Forty-four years of "negative integration" contributed mightily to the stability of the German Empire.

This book is filled with helpful insights and suggestive topics for empirical research.

Harvard University RICHARD M. HUNT

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A CATALOG OF FILES AND MICROFILMS OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ARCHIVES, 1920–1945. Volume II. Compiled and edited by *George O. Kent.* [Published as joint project of the United States Department of State and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution, Stanford University. 1964. Pp. ix, 1,321. $25.00.)

THE second volume of George Kent's admirable *Catalog* carries forward the listing of files and microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives for the years 1920–1936. The first volume, published in 1962, listed the files of the Foreign Minister, the State Secretary and Political Department II (Western and Southeastern Europe), and the secret files of all departments for the years 1920–1936. The listing of the files of Political Department III (Britain and the Empire, Middle East, Latin America, and United States) and Political Department IV (Northern Europe, Eastern Asia, and Russia) fills about half of the second volume. The other half lists many smaller collections of documents, most of them relating either to the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles and international conferences, or to economic subjects.

There are also, however, several collections of major importance. One is the old *Reich* Chancellery, where the sections on foreign affairs were filmed extensively, while the minutes of *Reich* cabinet meetings were filmed in their entirety. The personnel files of the Chancellery have many tantalizing entries (quite apart from the pleasure of seeing "Prince Max of Baden, Chancellor," listed just before "Bruno Baier, house worker," and "Auguste Bardess, cleaning woman"). One wonders what is in the more than seven hundred frames filmed from Bismarck's personnel file and in the large filming from the file with the obscure heading "Politzei, Kab. Prot., Briefe Bismarcks an Diverse, 1877–1881." The two thousand frames of film from the file headed "Reichsarchiv" in the *Reich* Chancellery collection supplement the Foreign Ministry files concerning the war guilt question (*Schuldreferat*) and the Parliamentary Investigating Committee on the origins of the First World War.

Finally, there are the papers of individuals (*Handakten* and *Nachlässe*). The most important single collection of such papers in this volume is that of Stresemann, but there are several others of importance for one or another area of foreign policy. Incidentally, the biographical notes in Appendix I relate only to the officials whose papers are catalogued in this volume; this is not immediately apparent.

Like everyone who has worked with the archives of the German Foreign Ministry, Kent is finding his task larger than he anticipated. His first volume contained some eight hundred pages, and it was to be followed by two others. The second volume contains over thirteen hundred pages; by now Kent realizes that two more volumes of comparable size will be needed and that some lesser files must be omitted. If he is able to maintain the rapid pace he has set so far, the *Catalog*

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should be completed in 1967 or 1968. Since the third and fourth volumes will also contain files relating to the years 1920–1936, including the filmed sections of embassy archives and the papers of individuals such as Brockdorff-Rantzau, scholars will have a guide through the maze of microfilm on even the early years only when all volumes have been published.

It will, therefore, be years before the scholar will have even the help that the *Catalog* can provide. From all indications, it will be many more years before we can expect the publication of *Documents on German Foreign Policy* for the period of the Weimar Republic to be completed. At the meeting of the Association in 1961, relying on conversations with the editors, I suggested that the publication of the documents for the Weimar years was unlikely to be completed within a decade. Since not a single volume has yet appeared, this estimate now seems wildly optimistic.

Meanwhile scholars continue to grope their way through the documents in Bonn, or through the maze of microfilm, despite the fact that, years ago, a team of British, French, and American scholars made the "Whaddon special film" of documents bearing on many important aspects of German foreign policy during the period of the Weimar Republic. Granted that these films are uneven in quality and are not definitive: that could be said of the selection of documents in *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941,* but surely it was better that *Nazi-Soviet Relations* appeared in 1948 than that scholars should have waited until 1962 when the publication of the definitive selection for those years was completed.

The story of the relations between Germany and Russia from 1918 to 1933 has importance comparable to the relations between those countries from 1939 to 1941, scholarly importance and also political importance. A selection of the documents on Russo-German relations during the Weimar years, a selection made by competent scholars, exists in the "Whaddon special film." Yet, since private scholars are not permitted to see these films, the scholar must painfully seek to duplicate the work already done. It is a sadly ironic fact that an international scholarly project launched nearly twenty years ago for the express purpose of making available at the earliest possible moment the story of German diplomacy from 1918 to 1945 has now become a barrier to the telling of that story.

All this, of course, is not Kent's responsibility. He is performing his task admirably, and with great rapidity. But even as one studies his *Catalog* and seeks to assemble from these many files the titles of fragments that may, or may not, contain all the available evidence, impatience grows that the result of labor completed years ago has not been made available to scholars.

University of California, Berkeley RAYMOND J. SONTAG

BIG BUSINESS IN THE THIRD REICH. By *Arthur Schweitzer.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 739. $7.50.)

THIS book's thesis is that the combined forces of Germany's army, big business,

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and large landowners set narrow limits to Nazi influence in the economic and military sphere during the first years of the Nazi regime. According to Dr. Schweitzer, there existed a coalition between the upper classes and the Nazis until 1936: "Economic power was primarily in the hands of the big business concerns and landowners while military power was almost exclusively exercised by the generals of the regular army." Elsewhere the author describes the coalition as a "bilateral power structure in which organized capitalism and the party dictatorship acted as equals, each enjoying an almost exclusive sphere of domination."

Schweitzer's thesis, which is not entirely novel, rests basically on a pact concluded, according to him, in July 1933 between the Nazis and a coalition of business, agriculture, and army that made big business a partner in the Hitler government and guaranteed to the large landowners the preservation of their estates. Unfortunately no documentation is offered for these negotiations which Oskar von Hindenburg, son of the field marshal-president, is reported to have attended as the army spokesman—a rather unlikely choice. As further evidence of the power of big business, Schweitzer points out that the Nazi government, after first catering to small business and artisans, disavowed these groups. The author claims that this disavowal was the result of business pressures to which the government had to yield. Actually no special pressures were needed; Hitler had to disown small business because the interference of its spokesmen with normal business activities and their demands for the socialization of the banks and the liquidation of all chain and department stores were dislocating the economy.

Nor did the removal of anticapitalist Nazis from positions of influence assure the independence of big business; it merely meant that Hitler had decided to use businessmen to carry out his plans. To these, it is true, he allowed some leeway in organizational and technical matters, but the carefully documented exploration of this question by Gerhard Schulz, in Bracher, Sauer, and Schulz, *Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung* (1960), shows that this concession was in effect rather limited.

While the political-historical sections of this book give rise to many questions, its economic discussions provide a detailed informative survey of Nazi economic policies, of the problems of financing the German war economy, and of the techniques that were used to attain Hitler's objectives. But they too fail to bear out Schweitzer's thesis.

Ohio State University ANDREAS DORPALEN

PRINZ EUGEN VON SAVOYEN: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume I, AUFSTIEG. By *Max Braubach*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1963. Pp. 469. DM 27.)

THE first full-scale biography of Eugene of Savoy prepared in our century began

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to appear in 1963 to commemorate the Prince's three hundredth birthday. Max Braubach of Bonn, its author, has been working on Eugene and baroque Austria for the past twenty-five years. From his numerous monographs and articles, we have learned to expect substantial contributions; his first volume of a projected four on Prince Eugene fulfills these expectations.

Why do we need another biography of Eugene? What new dimensions of the Prince's career can possibly justify the publication of four new volumes? The answers to these pertinent questions may be found in the fascinating historiographical foreword to the present volume. Braubach points out that earlier biographies, including Alfred Arneth's monumental three volumes, have generally been criticized for failing to bring Eugene to life. This fundamental shortcoming, he believes, derives in large measure from the sources available to Arneth and his predecessors. Since almost nothing was to be found in Eugene's papers of a private or personal nature, these authors were forced to rely almost exclusively on official materials. Braubach himself, after remaining in a quandary for many years, decided that the source deficiency could be remedied by close perusal of the Prince's military correspondence (published by the Austrian general staff after the completion of Arneth's biography); by using the insights in the biographical essays of such eminent historians as Sybel, Heigel, Redlich, and Srbik; by diligent searching for personal materials in the papers of Eugene's correspondents and friends; by research in foreign archives (The Hague, Paris, Simancas, and others) for references to Eugene in the papers of diplomats and other foreigners active in Austria during the Prince's lifetime; and by incorporating into a new biography the findings set forth in the numerous monographs and articles that have appeared over the century since Arneth did his research.

The initial volume is concerned with the first forty years of Eugene's career—from his birth in 1663 to his elevation in 1703 to the presidency of the *Hofkriegsrat*. Its four lengthy chapters treat his family background and youth to his dramatic flight from France in 1683; his rise from volunteer in the besieged army of Leopold I to his elevation as field marshal in the frustrating Italian campaigns of the 1690's; his sudden rise to international fame which was sparked by the crucial part he played in the annihilation of the Turkish Army at Zenta in 1697; and his personal struggle for political predominance in Vienna during the beginning years of the eighteenth century.

From a farrago of memoirs and other sources Braubach paints an unforgettable picture of Eugene's parents and their circle. The father, an upright, committed, and competent military officer who died in 1673 when Eugene was but ten years old, stands out in sharp contrast to the dissolute and opportunistic mother. Olympia Mancini, the niece of Mazarin, was notorious as a *femme galante* and political intriguer. In 1680, three years before Eugene's flight, she left France to escape standing trial on a charge of having poisoned certain of her political enemies.

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Even before she deserted her family, Olympia neglected her children. An unattractive and retiring youth, Eugene was ridiculed and called "snub-nose" by his companions. The memoirists imply that his personal morals were not beyond reproach. As the youngest of Olympia's sons, Eugene was destined by the family to a career in the Church. He rebelled at the idea of living out his life as the "Abbé de Savoy" and showed by the age of twenty that he was determined to follow a military career.

Once Eugene begins soldiering in Austria, Braubach's biography becomes less concerned with personalities. The rise of Eugene to military and political prominence is heavily based, as in earlier biographies, upon a wide range of official materials. It is only occasionally that the mature Eugene becomes *menschlich:* when he suffers from unrequited love; when he glories in being decorated as a knight of the Golden Fleece; when he is bitterly disappointed over his campaigns in Italy; when he enjoys living in 1700 in the social swirl of Vienna; when he panics over financial losses; and when he emotionally reveals his loyalty to the House of Habsburg.

Braubach concedes that he has written a biography that follows to a certain extent the older style of his predecessors. He implies, correctly, that he has not spun psychological theories about Eugene's frustrations, motivations, reactions, and personal influence; he has tried simply and seriously to reconstruct the life and times of the Prince from a multitude of contemporary sources. Braubach is no hero-worshipper or apologist; he reports what he knows in an interesting, sometimes dramatic, manner and critically analyzes and evaluates his sources. If the three studies to follow (on Eugene as general, statesman, and *Mensch*) achieve the high standard of this first volume, Braubach will certainly replace Arneth as the leading biographer of the taciturn and enigmatic Prince.

University of Chicago DONALD F. LACH

STORIA DELLA COMPAGNIA DI GESU IN ITALIA. Volume III, L'EPOCA DI GIACOMO LAINEZ: IL GOVERNO, 1556–1565. By *Mario Scaduto, S.I.* (Rome: Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica." 1964. Pp. xxxv, 650.)

CONTINUING on the same generous scale the massive volumes of Pietro Tacchi Venturi, this work is a model of its kind, whether considered as religious history (in the more specific sense) or as an account of the political and institutional development of a relatively small society. It should, indeed, be of interest to historians of comparative institutions as well as to ecclesiastical historians. Thoroughly grounded on both the local and the central archives of the Society of Jesus, as well as on a wide range of other archival sources, and written with a full awareness of general historical conditions, it admirably combines narrative and architectonic modes of organization and moves skillfully back and forth between Rome and the provincial levels of Jesuit activity. At the same time its excellent index ensures the utility of the book as a reference work as well as a connected history.

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As the title indicates, this volume concentrates on the period of almost a decade when the society was led by Diego Lainez, Loyola's immediate successor, upon whom fell the critical responsibility for ensuring the survival of the order. His success is obvious, but the difficulties he faced have not always been clearly recognized. By 1556 the society had already aroused bitter hostility among both religious and secular agencies, and there was a real question of its continuation, at least in its original form. During the period of Lainez' administration, therefore, the major problems of the society concerned its political position in the Church and in the world, and its internal structure; Scaduto is primarily concerned here with the relationships of the Jesuits with ecclesiastical and secular forces, with the development of a stable constitutional framework to replace merely personal leadership, and with institutional expansion. The next volume in the series is intended to deal with the religious mission of the society and the Jesuit contribution to the Counter Reformation during this period.

University of California, Berkeley WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

THE DECLINE OF THE VENETIAN NOBILITY AS A RULING CLASS. By *James Cushman Davis.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXX (1962), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1962. Pp. 155. $4.00.)

LE livre élégant de James C. Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class,* s'impose à la fois par son intelligence, sa clarté et son originalité. Il met en cause, de 1575, date approximative, à la prise de Venise par les Français en 1797, deux siècles d'une histoire, ou mieux d'une expérience sociale singulière: celle de la noblesse vénitienne considérée comme une "ruling class." Toute architecture sociale ne cesse évidemment d'évoluer dans son ensemble et de se renouveler, sans fin, sous le poids de mouvements internes, promotion des uns, déchéance des autres. À Venise, ces mouvements sont visibles durant les deux derniers siècles de la république et même durant les siècles qui les ont précédés. Mais tout est contrarié, si l'on peut dire, par le fait que, constitutée en classe politique dès la fin du treizième siècle, la noblesse vénitienne se veut un monde étroit, fermé et—les rares exceptions, 1381, 1645, 1775, confirmant la règle—le demeure jusqu'à l'effondrement de l'anachronique république, en 1797.

Davis, après avoir rapidement, mais comme toujours clairement et sûrement résumé les origines de cette clôture décisive, parvient dès les premières pages de son livre au seuil du seizième siècle et précise alors les problèmes de son enquête. Cette aristocratie qui entend se réserver le gouvernement d'une ville puissante, se trouve aux prises avec de multiples tâches politiques, depuis le commandement de ses escadres jusqu'aux cinq ambassades-clefs (auprès du Roi Très Chrétien, du Roi Catholique, de l'Empereur, du Turc et du Pape) aux gouvernements des grandes villes de Terre Ferme et aux postes décisifs de la capitale elle-même, politiques ou judiciaires. Peut-être, comme le dit l'auteur, ce problème de

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gouvernement porte-t-il sur deux centaines de postes, si l'on ne retient que ceux qui impliquent de hautes responsabilités, un dévouement évident à la chose publique et de lourdes dépenses. Il fallait, bien entendu, préciser quels sont ces postes, l'ordre dans lequel (ou les ordres dans lesquels) un ambitieux doit conduire sa fortune, selon les étapes de tel ou tel *cursus honorum*. Toute cette esquisse du gouvernement vénitien, du *Maggior Consiglio* au doge, est finement dessinée, sans détail ou discours inutiles.

La tâche ainsi définie, il est facile de montrer que la classe des nobles ne va pas, dans le déroulement du dramatique destin de Venise, être à la hauteur de ses devoirs et de ses prétentions implicites. Sur ce point, Davis confirme des études aussi fines que les livres récents de Gaetano Cozzi et d'Alberto Tenenti, mais sa démonstration est différente, car dessinée à long terme. Progressivement, en effet, la noblesse vénitienne voit s'éclaircir ses rangs. Le nombre des nobles, âgés de 25 ans et plus, est de 2,613, en 1550; de 1,970, en 1594; de 1,710, en 1719; de 1,640, en 1726; de 1,300, en 1775; de 1,090, en 1797. À long terme, compte non tenu de légères reprises et des adjonctions peu efficaces de 1645 (127 familles) et 1775 (10 familles), la diminution a été continue. Les conséquences dans le domaine gouvernemental sont visibles assez tôt: nombre insuffisant des choix pour les magistratures décisives, appel bientôt à des hommes trop jeunes, alors que la règle vénitienne jusque-là avait misé sur la sagesse éprouvée des gens âgés. Ce sera une surprise et presque un scandale quand Pietro Mocenigo, à trente-neuf ans, sera appelé à représenter la seigneurie auprès du Pape, en 1671.

Aspects sociaux et politiques de la crise sont étroitement mêlés. Le nombre des nobles diminue sous le poids de causes multiples, et notamment parce que les familles restreignent le nombre des mariages pour mieux sauvegarder les patrimoines. En outre, l'évolution économique qui, bientôt, tourne au désavantage de Venise, a ruiné une partie notable de la noblesse et le repli de la seigneurie ne laisse entrevoir aucune chance de rétablir les fortunes compromises. Il n'y a plus, comme jadis, de nouvelles donnes, de "New Deal." Si bien que chacun se met à fuir les honneurs, occasions de dépenses ruineuses.

Les moments dramatiques et révélateurs de cette évolution sont forcément, en 1645 et en 1775, l'ouverture des rangs de la vieille noblesse à de nouvelles familles, toutes fortunées. Mais le remède, s'il permet de surprendre sur le vif l'attitude mentale de cette noblesse en faillite, les difficultés de ses prises de conscience, n'aboutit pas finalement à changer un courant irréversible. Il se révèle inefficace. L'auteur ne s'y trompe pas un instant: ce n'est pas la crise sociale de sa classe dirigeante qui a essentiellement condamné Venise; mais bien davantage la crise d'un État archaïque, déchu et condamné par l'évolution générale du monde; cette crise commande ces attitudes et aveuglements sociaux. Et l'auteur a raison de penser qu'aucun remède heureux n'aurait pu, sans doute, changer le cours de cette longue histoire.

Ce livre d'une écriture heureuse, bien documenté, fait honneur au Professeur Frederic Lane qui l'a dirigé. Il n'est, en fait, qu'une introduction à des travaux

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qui, je l'espère, vont suivre bientôt. Les cadres généraux d'une enquête sociale sont bien dessinés, il serait aisé à l'auteur de les remplir au cours de recherches nouvelles, d'étudier les testaments de cette noblesse, sa position vis-à-vis de la fiscalité vénitienne et vis-à-vis des autres classes sociales, de s'élever sans effort à une sociologie rétrospective qui me semble de mise en ce domaine. Mais ces voeux ne sont pas une critique déguisée: tel qu'il est, ce livre est excellent.

École Pratique des Hautes Études FERNAND BRAUDEL

THE LAST BOURBONS OF NAPLES (1825–1861). By *Harold Acton*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 559. $10.00.)

IF Harold Acton's second volume on the Bourbons of the Two Sicilies had been written for the movies or the stage, theater marquees might well read: "King Bomba Redeemed"—with a cast of thousands.

With careful and almost minute attention to detail and a meticulous reweighing of fact and fancy, the author demolishes a thousand myths surrounding the Bourbon reign in Naples. For those of us nurtured in the traditions of the *Risorgimento* as created by the victors, *The Last Bourbons of Naples* is a bitter pill indeed. With the fanaticism of a convert, the author strides vigorously through the Valhalla of *Risorgimento* Liberals, swinging his mace lustily and smashing the statues and busts of Naples' "finest" with abounding relish. No one is spared. Yesterday's heroes such as Carlo Poerio, Guglielmo Pepe, Pisacane, La Cecilia, Settembrini, and Princess Belgiojoso are all but relegated to the rubbish heap of history. Even Gladstone and Garibaldi do not escape unscathed. In their places Acton erects new idols, some not so tall, others a bit tarnished, and still others, on some occasions the evil men of yesteryear, not really evil at all. No less a villain of the liberal stage than Del Carretto appears now in a new guise—as little more than an efficient and rather intelligent bureaucrat. General Filangieri, for generations a *bête noire* of liberal memory, assumes an entirely different aspect as a loyal and able officer, an intelligent administrator, and, above all else, a gentleman of the first order.

By the judicious use of memoirs and eyewitness accounts combined with an uncommon writing talent, the author introduces the reader into the daily life of Ferdinand II, the king and the man. One suffers through the trials of Ferdinand's brief marriage to the ethereal Maria Cristina of Savoy; the birth of an heir, eventually to rule as Francis II, the last king of Naples; the anguish Ferdinand experienced because of the caprices and lusty adventures of his numerous immediate and remote relations; and his second marriage, this one to Maria Theresa, archduchess of Austria, that produced a palace full of Bourbon progeny. In statecraft Ferdinand II emerges as a diplomat of no mean talent dedicated to maintaining the independence of his kingdom at all costs. For three decades Bomba successfully parried the thrusts of England, France, Austria, and Piedmont, a remarkable feat in the light of the times. In internal affairs, Acton depicts Ferdi-

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nand as a combination autocrat, enlightened despot, and well-meaning paterfamilias alternating the club with the carrot, crushing rebellion, rewarding the faithful, granting constitutions and revoking them when convenient, equally ready to exile or imprison as he was to amnesty.

In my opinion Acton achieves his greatest success in the few chapters devoted to the tragic figure of Francis II. By nature not a strong ruler, Francis appears more like a country squire, well meaning, gentlemanly, and reasonably intelligent, but caught up in the crosscurrents of a political maelstrom he could not possibly control. The account of the siege of Gaeta and Francis' last acts as King is an excellent piece of historical writing and assessment and results in a more sympathetic and honest view of this somewhat strange and lonely figure.

This study is a superbly written defense of the Bourbons and implements as well as defends the thesis advanced so frequently by Italian *meridionalisti* ever since Francesco Nitti first argued the case in his *Nord e Sud* in 1900, that is, in essence, that the south gave infinitely more than it received in realizing the union of Italy; that the reign of "the last Bourbons" was something quite different from the "negation of God" ascribed to it by Gladstone.

On the other hand, traditions die only with difficulty, and students of the *Risorgimento* cannot help but have some reservations in accepting all of the author's views. One cannot escape wondering just how far redemption can be carried. Perhaps being too kind, too gentle, and too understanding leads to fashioning halos that too often tend to slip.

Portland State College GEORGE A. CARBONE

THE ITALIAN PREFECTS: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE POLITICS. By *Robert C. Fried*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 6.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xix, 343. $7.50.)

THIS clearly written and important study of administrative organization is presented with a wise restraint that sees that what prefects do reflects rather than explains important problems of Italian government. Courageously, Professor Fried has treated the whole development of Italian administration from its Piedmontese origins to the present, while skillfully keeping his categories intact. He has written a book where one was needed; his conclusions correct much that has been said, out of ignorance before, but the work is disappointing.

Despite the breadth of the author's understanding, this is administrative history in the narrow sense. The importance of ideology, economic problems, social tensions, and political issues is recognized. But we are offered no new insights into these matters, for a traditional and summary conception of them is simply applied to the discussion of prefectorial administration—a discussion that could instead have taught us much about all these things. The value of a historical approach is acknowledged, but this is less an account of how Italy's administrative structure developed than of what tasks prefects performed in

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different periods. The underlying conception of the work is admirably comparative, but there is little comparison of administrative systems in action. Based on extensive research in printed sources and on interviews, the book is weakened by the lack of archival research; for it can tell us little of how prefects in different periods conceived their function, what they thought their problems were, what pressures they were under.

Still, this is a useful book. The first two chapters, which treat the period before 1870, are fairly formal summaries of administrative practice that contain much not generally known. The chapter on "The Liberal Regime" is understandably the weakest in the book. For the problem here is less what administrative structure was than how it was used. The dilemma of liberals trying to create a unified nation, the extraordinary burden placed on an administration when it is asked to accomplish what history has not accomplished and politics cannot accomplish, remains unexplored. For the modern period, however, where newspapers and interviews supply something of what archives could have supplied for the earlier period, the book makes important points well beyond the narrowest definition of its topic. The brief discussion of the administrative chaos of Fascism is excellent, and the chapter on the republic (one-third of the book) is certainly its best, one that all those interested in modern Italian history should read.

Fried's conclusions are of real interest. The functions of Italy's prefects, he suggests, have been more political than administrative, and the continuity he finds from the kingdom of Sardinia through the Italian monarchy, Fascism, and the republic is striking. This leads him to argue that the Italian "unintegrated" prefectorial system (that is, one where local offices of the central government are not usually subordinated to the prefect) is a special type, distinct from the French. And he offers good, though very schematic, discussions of why this system came to be adopted. It has, he finds, some advantages, though he predicts that the increase in social services will lead to an increase in the authority of prefects. One of the great merits of this book is its author's recognition that "social and ideological forces" are more important than administrative forms in determining a nation's politics; it makes one wish the book had been built around such understanding instead of arriving at it.

University of Michigan RAYMOND GREW

A STERNER PLAN FOR ITALIAN UNITY: THE ITALIAN NATIONAL SOCIETY IN THE RISORGIMENTO. By *Raymond Grew*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 500. $10.00.)

AFTER the 1848 failures, Italian patriots faced the disheartening reality that high ideals and personal gallantry could do little against military power. They slowly realized, moreover, that independence might be achieved if the nationalist movement abandoned its demands for a new and revolutionary social order. As Pro-

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fessor Grew points out, "the concept of the Risorgimento . . . changed from a revolution that would remake society to a merely political change brought about by force of arms."

Grew's excellent work, winner of the *Unità d'Italia* prize, deals with the 1850's and 1860's, decades when Italy took shape as a nation. Using primary sources from over a dozen archives and pertinent secondary material, Grew focuses on the activities of the *Società Nazionale Italiana* to give us a comprehensive analysis of events during these crucial years. With dexterity he follows the progress of the national cause. The *Società Nazionale Italiana,* in existence from 1856 to 1864, resulted from the efforts of Daniele Menin, hero of the 1848 Venetian revolt; Giorgio Pallavicino Trivulzio, veteran of the 1821 insurrection, follower of Confalonieri and "martyr" of Spielberg; and Giuseppe La Farina, former Mazzinian leader of the 1848 Sicilian outbreak. Appealing mainly to Italy's professional middle class, the SNI's most fruitful activity occurred between 1858, when La Farina drew close to Cavour, and 1860, when it laid the groundwork for the annexation plebiscites. Though active during the first parliamentary election in united Italy, the SNI failed to emerge as a political party of national stature. After Cavour's death the society declined; by 1864 its usefulness was over. Yet it had played an important role in arousing support for Piedmontese leadership. Somehow it had succeeded in combining the "ideas of Gioberti and Mazzini with the policies of Cavour and the heroism of Garibaldi," and its record remains as evidence "that Italians had at least once been united in a common cause."

No mean achievement, this, for, as anyone familiar with the history of the *Risorgimento* knows, factionalism divided Italian patriots, making bitter enemies of those who should have cooperated. Grew's book shows clearly that Italian unity owed most to the dedication and determination of the few. The value of the book, however, goes beyond its analysis of the intricate, tortuous process of Italian nation building. It provides the background to understand the postunification history of Italy. The achievement of nationhood provided no hasty cure for political immaturity and ignorance, social backwardness, and provincialism. All these represented serious obstacles to the emergence of a modern Italian state and society.

Since this is such a fine work, one deserving to become required reading for future students of the *Risorgimento,* it may seem picayune to criticize, but why force the reader to hunt for a specific bibliographical reference in a maze of footnotes after the book has been read? From experience I know that compiling a bibliography is not too onerous and is greatly appreciated by fellow scholars. Its omission constitutes, in my opinion, a shortcoming in an otherwise excellent work.

Regis College (Massachusetts) EMILIANA P. NOETHER

SOCIALDEMOCRAZIA TEDESCA E SOCIALISTI ITALIANI, 1875–1895: L'INFLUENZA DELLA SOCIALDEMOCRAZIA TEDESCA SULLA

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FORMAZIONE DEL PARTITO SOCIALISTA ITALIANO. By *Ernesto Ragionieri.* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1961. Pp. 466. L. 3,000.)

Professor Ragionieri of the University of Florence has painstakingly researched a topic hitherto untouched by students of Italian socialism, possibly because finding the logically suggested documentation transparently required extraordinary diligence and tenacity, possibly because the investigator could not, a priori, be certain that his material, if found and analyzed, would speak for itself, that is, provide a hard enough core around which intelligible commentary and synthesis could be attempted. Ragionieri definitely clears the first hurdle, for his raw material derives from well-scattered collections: the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the SED in Berlin, the *Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv* in Potsdam, the Merseburg and Potsdam divisions of the *Deutsches Zentralarchiv,* the Amsterdam Institute for Social History, the Feltrinelli Institute in Milan, and the archives of the Italian Foreign Ministry in Rome (to say nothing of many newspaper files and other published material). Since Ragionieri concerns himself with the twenty-year period 1875–1895, during most of which German socialists were compelled to clandestinity at home or exile abroad, one can appreciate the author's labors in tracing the material on which to base an analysis of SPD contacts with Italian socialists. The diffuse discussion of certain peripheral elements and the highly detailed analysis of long—and not consistently relevant—quotes from the sources left me, however, with no impression that a sharp focus on the problem had been sustained.

For the years 1879–1887, Ragionieri assiduously explores the sporadic journalistic collaboration of Andrea Costa, Osvaldo Gnocchi-Viani, and the German lithographer resident in Milan, Emil Julius Kerbs, with the organ of the Social Democratic exiles in Zurich, *Der Sozialdemokrat.* The title of this discussion is "The Swiss Mediation," for reasons obscure, given the schismatic and amorphous nature of the Italian socialist community at the time. Once the SPD was freed of Bismarck's heavy hand, and demonstrating, as it did in 1890, its remarkable electoral potency, Italian socialists, for the most part, were lost in the same extravagant admiration (or envy?) of their German *compagni* that hypnotized socialists of other European parties. As the subsequent outlets for channeling German socialist ideas and policies into Italian socialism, Ragionieri chooses Filippo Turati, Pasquale Martinetti, Antonio Labriola, and lesser figures of the Italian movement. Effectively disproving the "Germanizing" influence of Italian socialist contacts with Anna Kulisciov (especially in the cases of Costa and Turati), Ragionieri argues that Turati owes a far greater debt to Leopold Jacoby, German literature professor at the Academy of Sciences and Letters in Milan.

Less explicit, but entirely basic, is Ragionieri's theme, and one reason for terminating the study at 1895, the year of Engels' death: that Marx's alter ego, in "purifying [the SPD] of all chauvinistic residue" by giving the "hegemonic function of the SPD the content of proletarian internationalism" and in identifying

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the German Social Democracy with Marxism, made it possible for the Italian socialist movement, thanks to its contacts with the SPD, "to raise [its] political and ideological platform to an international level." To me, the theme seems more a debatable premise than a demonstrated conclusion.

University of California, Riverside RICHARD HOSTETTER

BOHEMIA: JAHRBUCH DES COLLEGIUM CAROLINUM. Volume III. (Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche. 1962. Pp. 657.)

FOR the third consecutive year the *Collegium Carolinum,* an organization of German scholars, most of them historians, with roots in Bohemia and Moravia, have published this yearbook, a rich collection of articles, notes, and reviews which show the liveliness and the scope of present Sudeten-German literary activity in all its aspects. For a community of people who, largely owing to the "backlash" of the crimes of the Nazis and their Sudeten-German cohorts, were uprooted and forced out of their personal and national home, it is perhaps almost too much to expect complete scientific objectivity in the treatment of issues, many of which have still emotional undertones. In the face of these difficulties it should be acknowledged that a substantial part of these contributions measures up to standards of responsible and careful scholarship.

This, for instance, is true of the detailed treatment that Professor Ernst Schwarz devotes, in a rather long study, to the movements of the German nationality during the Middle Ages and soon after in the extreme northern part of Bohemia, between the Elbe and the Isergebirge (Jizerské Hory). Schwarz, an authority in German as well as Slavic philology, has used the tool of language study, especially in relation to geographic and proper names, when, beginning thirty and more years ago, in essential agreement with Czech scholarship, he refuted Bertold Bretholz' claim that the German population in Bohemia had settled there long before the arrival of the Slavs and thus, as the argument tried to imply, had even older claims to Bohemian soil than the Czechs. That the Germans had come into the Bohemian Basin as "colonizers and immigrants" mostly in the late twelfth and throughout the thirteenth century, though at one time resented by Sudeten Germans when T. G. Masaryk used those terms, is nevertheless today pretty thoroughly proven, and Schwarz's studies have helped in this clarification. Important among other points he makes is the statement that the Hussite revolution of the early fifteenth century, while largely expelling the German (patrician) element from the cities of the greater, inner part of Bohemia, did not do as much harm to the German urban or rural elements in the border regions of the north and west as has frequently been assumed. Altogether Schwarz's emphasis is on the generally rather peaceful character that dominated the relationship between the two nationalities in the period prior to the nineteenth century, a view that contradicts the older assumption of bitter Czech-German struggle as one of the dominant factors of Bohemian history through the ages, presented by Palacký

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but no longer subscribed to with equal fervor by contemporary Czech historiography. Schwarz's study is followed by another topically related and similarly valuable discussion by Josef Hemmerle about the early history of German and Slavic settlements in the Egerland (Chebsko), with the Slavs including, besides Czechs, also Lusatian Serbs.

To roughly the same period also belong two quite interesting biographical monographs: one, by the late Karl Beer, on Albert of Seeberg, who, a descendant of a Meissen baronial family, became lord marshal under Wenceslas II and was active in the development of towns and castles in northern and western Bohemia; the other, by Adolph Wagner, an interesting if somewhat overly enthusiastic sketch on Vok of Rosenberg, of the House of Witigo (Vítek), another lord marshal under Wenceslas' father, Přemysl Otakar II, and the King's governor in Styria at the time of the greatest expansion of Přemyslid power. Besides Vok was the most active baron in the early development of the Bohemian south which eventually made his decendants the "uncrowned kings" of southern Bohemia. Among other places he founded the monastery of Vyšší Brod (Hohenfurt), to become famous for its great fourteenth-century art.

Of special value for the resumption of a scholarly discussion between German historians concerned with Bohemia and their Czech colleagues are contributions of the young Munich historian Ferdinand Seibt. They include a historiographical study of the problems of the economic and political development of the late feudal landlords and their subjects in the Bohemian "Ständestaat," with special regard to recent works by F. Matějek and A. Míka. While critical in various aspects Seibt rightly finds these recent Czech investigations much more differentiating and sophisticated than some of the rather clumsily Marxian guidelines that had dominated the scene some ten to fifteen years ago. Seibt is also a valuable discussant in his review of the third volume of the Czech yearbook *Historica,* where especially his evaluation of British attitudes following Hitler's occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, in reaction to an interesting article by A. Teichová, permits a revised judgment of Chamberlain's Russian policy in the spring of 1939.

While this seems a "hot" topic, that quality is even more obvious in the case of a book-sized essay on the "Lost [population] Islands" in central Moravia, written by Johanna Spunda, the first part of which already appeared in the second issue of the yearbook. The author makes a genuine effort to describe this process of steady gains of Czech as against German population, and of the policies of both sides to maintain or change the *status quo,* in an essentially quiet and detached manner, and it is difficult to reproach her for the fact that this historical process, so welcome to Czechs and so painful to Germans, appears, in her careful account of the details, still as a painful experience. It would perhaps be petty to criticize the occasional references to the even more painful events of 1945 that occur without regard to the chain of events that began with Munich.

It is, however, just this chain of events, and their legal significance, that appears

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once in this book in a distasteful way. This is a detailed report on the work, published earlier by the *Collegium Carolinum* itself in 1962, called *Die Sudetenfrage in europäischer Sicht* and containing lectures and discussions held earlier (1959) at what was called, rather euphemistically, a "wissenschaftliche Fachtagung." A number of those lectures were just politics, and not very attractive at that. There is a distinct attempt, in more than one of them, to defend the Munich agreement as a true and peaceful solution of the nationality problems of Bohemia and Moravia, presented most absurdly in what purports to be a "legal" investigation by Hermann Raschhofer. He ends with the fantastic conclusion that "the rights of sovereignty [*Gebietshoheit*] of the German Reich [*sic*] over the Sudeten-German territories have, on the basis of international law, not yet ceased to exist [*noch nicht völkerrechtlich aufgehoben*]." When the *Collegium Carolinum* shakes off representatives of this sort of flagrant revisionist propaganda, it will be better able to claim recognition as a body of scholars, deserving to be taken seriously and listened to by the international community of historians.

University of Alberta, Calgary FREDERICK G. HEYMANN

PROPAGANDE ET PRESSIONS EN POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE: LA GRÈCE ET SES REVENDICATIONS À LA CONFÉRENCE DE LA PAIX (1919–1920). By *Dimitri Kitsikis*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris. Series "Recherches," Number 9. Travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire des Relations Internationales, Number 3.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. 537. 20 fr.)

THIS is a systematic study of Greek propaganda and pressure groups, which sought to influence Allied political leaders and public opinion in favor of Greek territorial ambitions at the Paris Peace Conference.

Greek territorial claims were enormous, especially in the light of the belated and modest Greek contribution to Allied victory. They were designed to create, in the contemporary phrase, a "Greece of Five Seas" (Ionian, Mediterranean, Aegean, Marmara, Black), that is, not only to round out Greece on the Balkan Peninsula by acquisition of southern Albania (northern Epirus), Bulgarian Macedonia, and all of Thrace, but to extend it eastward to comprise Constantinople, the Straits zone, a firm footing on the coast of Asia Minor, and all of the Aegean Islands—in short, to restore in a modern form the Byzantine Empire. The inspirer of this dream was Eleutherios Venizelos—a consummate diplomat who through sheer personal ability played a role out of all proportion to the importance of Greece at the Paris Peace Conference. He had been, with the Serbian Premier Nikola Pašić, the principal architect of the Balkan alliance which, through the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, resulted in doubling Greek territory, as it also resulted in doubling Serbian territory. When World War I began, Venizelos was eager to intervene on the Allied side, but the opposition of King Constantine led to a schism and formation of two Greek governments (the pro-Allied Venizelist

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at Salonika and the neutralist Constantinian at Athens) until 1917 when, through Allied intervention, Greece was reunited under the leadership of Venizelos and joined the Allies in war.

With a sense of time wasted and opportunities lost, Venizelos then launched an astounding propaganda campaign, which was ably carried out by his Foreign Minister Politis and a group of younger men, by training mainly journalists and businessmen rather than diplomats. It centered in but was not limited to London, for Venizelos regarded Britain as the keystone of the Allies. Anglo-Greek friendship was an axiom of his policy to the extent that he sacrificed to it the Greek claim to Cyprus. "If Greece does not get everything she asks for, it will not be the fault of her representatives: they have inundated us with literature," observed a member of Parliament. Greek propaganda did not limit itself to the written word, but mobilized pressure groups and influential personalities, both Greek and foreign. Kitsikis credits the notorious "merchant of death," Sir Basil Zaharoff, a Greek by birth, with obtaining, through personal pressure on Lloyd George and Clemenceau, Allied authorization for Greece to land troops at Smyrna in May 1919.

The study is based, apart from published sources in the Greek and Western languages, on documents in the archive of the Greek embassy in London and on interviews and correspondence with the survivors of the Greek propaganda team of 1919–1920. It bears the imprint of its origin as a doctoral dissertation: whole documents are invariably quoted, interpretation is evaded, and no attempt is made to assess the effect of Greek propaganda on Allied opinion. But results spoke for themselves. The Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920) largely realized the dream of Venizelos. It was not his fault (he was promptly turned out of office by his people, grateful for his successes but weary of eight years of war and internal conflict) that Greece subsequently lost much of its gains by defeat at the hands of Kemal Atatürk.

Florida State University VICTOR S. MAMATEY

LA RIVOLUZIONE RUSSA DEL 1905. Volume I, LA FORMAZIONE DEI PARTITI POLITICI (1881–1904). By *Valdo Zilli*. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Number 16.] (Naples: the Istituto. 1963. Pp. 769. L. 8,000.)

THIS distinguished contribution to the history of the Russian revolutionary movement is conceived as a massive historical introduction to the study of the revolutionary cataclysm that shook the Russian Empire in 1905. The author begins his story in 1881, the year of the regicide and the terminal point in Franco Venturi's celebrated work on Russian Populism. In many respects, the present volume appears as a deliberate continuation of Venturi's study, upon which at times it relies rather heavily. The events of 1905 are reserved for a second volume, but the author carries his presentation to the very threshold of the great upheavals of that year.

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The book deals with the ideological and organizational history of political parties in Russia during those crucial formative years, an extremely complex and variegated subject. It encompasses the crisis and decline of old Populism; the rise of Marxism as a dominating ideology; the slow emergence of Social Democratic labor organizations; the brief attempts in the late nineties to confine the labor movement to purely economic concerns; the formation of a national Social Democratic party and the almost simultaneous regeneration of Populism in the shape of the Socialist Revolutionary party committed to agrarian socialism and possessing a fairly eclectic program and the appendage of a terrorist organization; the very hesitant formation of a "liberal" (non-Socialist) opposition party; and, finally, the split within the Social Democratic party into the Menshevik and Bolshevik groups, amounting in fact to the creation of two independent organizations.

The author tells this story in great detail. Hardly anything is marginal enough to escape his attention. The first casual references to Marx in Russian writings are as carefully recorded as are the histories of some tiny and short-lived clandestine organizations. The formidable research effort is based on an impressive range of sources, revealing, incidentally, close acquaintance with the modern American literature in the field. The documentation is so extensive that it would seem petty to reproach the author for the not infrequent use in his references of indirect sources in cases where the primary source was clearly available. Yet there are some hazards to this procedure, and while I was unable to do any thorough checking, in at least two cases the meaning of the original was found to be distorted as a result of having been strained through a secondary source. Given the size of the book and the difficulty of the subject, there are inevitably minor errors, but the book as a whole is a fine testimony to the author's precise and diligent scholarship.

The presentation is essentially factual, leaving it to the reader to form his own opinion regarding the causal sequences of the events. There is, in particular, no clearly articulated explanation of the causes of the unrest that gripped the country toward the end of the century, exploding in rebellious students' demonstrations, quickening the pulse of political movements, leading to strikes and widespread acts of peasant violence, and finally culminating in the drama of the 1905 Revolution. To be sure, a long and perhaps unnecessarily discoursive chapter deals with the origins and the course of the war with Japan and the impact of the defeat on the prestige and power of the government. But the long-term effects of the forced draft industrialization of the nineties and the government's desperate race against time are touched upon much too lightly. The roots of the Revolution that lay in the discontent of the despoiled peasantry, which was forced to bear the cost of the great economic effort, would have deserved much more emphasis; so, for this matter, would the growing disaffection of the gentry whose position within the social structure was being adversely affected by the industrialization. Inadequacies of this sort are then reflected in related matters, such as the lack of

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a clear explanation for Witte's negative attitude toward the zemstvos; nor is there a sufficiently comprehensive explanation of the motivations that caused the leaders of those organizations to join in the general struggle against autocracy.

There is one point, however, on which the author does offer his own interpretation of what seems to him a crucial aspect of the prehistory of the 1905 Revolution, that is, the split of the Social Democratic movement. A large part of the book is devoted to the evolution of Lenin's ideas, and the proceedings of the fateful congress in 1903 are summarized at length with great clarity. In his appraisal, the author views the Mensheviks as the dogmatic representatives of Western Marxism, while the Bolsheviks, whose ideological and organizational continuities with revolutionary Populism are rightly stressed, are credited with a creative adaptation of Marxism to Russian conditions. They are said to have turned the very backwardness of the country to good political account and are praised therefore as a truly "Russian" movement. There is probably much truth in this position. The only trouble is that it explains things other than those on the author's present agenda. Zilli is writing the history of the 1905 Revolution. But the detailed presentation of Lenin's ideas and the story of the split are primarily relevant to a history of Russian Bolshevism as well as to that of the October Revolution and the subsequent history of the Soviet state. For it is not clear at all that the existence of the two Social Democratic groups and the ideological struggles between them before and after the Revolution had much to do with the latter's origin, vicissitudes, and outcome. Nor does it seem correct to take the eventual victory of Bolshevism for granted, just because it actually occurred after three years of an unprecedented and disastrous war effort. It was not a foregone conclusion that the development would proceed along "Russian" rather than Western lines, as is shown, among many other things, by the decline of Bolshevism between 1906 and 1914. For the same reason, it is difficult to accept the author's somewhat condescending treatment of the Socialist Revolutionary party. It is true that this movement failed to produce an intellectual impact comparable with that of the Marxian social democracy. But it was a profoundly democratic movement, exercising a strong appeal to the peasantry—the vast majority of the population. In the absence of the war, the party, in all likelihood, eventually would have become one of the pillars of the political edifice in the country. In a very real sense, it was the most "Russian" of all the political groups at the time. There are clear and by no means negligible disabilities to attempts at writing history backward from the "ineluctable" victory of Bolshevism, which took place in an entirely different period and under entirely different circumstances.

Thus the main and considerable value of the book lies in the very comprehensive, skillful, and competent array of factual information that gives it a unique position in the literature on the subject. Not the least attractive feature of the study is the large number of significant trifles that are very much worth rescuing from oblivion. To let just one example stand for many: I was glad to

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be reminded that the phrase "cult of personality" was first used in a Russian context in 1901. Revealingly, it occurred in a critical pamphlet against Lenin, whose dictatorial ideas and policies caused one of his opponents to hurl at him the sacral term *Personenkult,* which had been previously coined and cast about in the debates of the German labor movement.

Harvard University ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

THE PROPHET OUTCAST, TROTSKY: 1929–1940. By *Isaac Deutscher.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 543. $9.50.)

The Prophet Outcast, the concluding volume in Mr. Deutscher's trilogy (and the longest), recounts Trotsky's odyssey from his departure from Soviet Russia to his assassination in Mexico. It is a story told with the insight and partisanship of the initiate. Deutscher was deeply involved, as a Polish disciple, in nearly all the controversies related in this volume and in close touch with Trotsky himself. In addition he has made full use of the Trotsky Archive, both the open and the closed sections (a description of the closed section is given in the bibliography). Thus he follows with warm compassion the personal tragedies of the Trotsky family, reports and analyzes Trotsky's responses to the momentous crises of the thirties culminating in his founding the Fourth International, and outlines in detail his political writings. There is even an admirably analytical chapter, worthy of a separate review, on "The Revolutionary as Historian," with due emphasis on the *History of the Russian Revolution.* Throughout the volume one finds, in addition, many trenchant observations on Soviet affairs.

All this is presented in an exalted, lofty style: "The passions of [Trotsky's] intellect and heart, always uncommonly large and intense, now [at the beginning of his exile] swelled into a tragic energy as mighty and high as that which animates the prophets and lawgivers of Michelangelo's vision." Sometimes, however, one wonders about the slightly superhuman scale into which Trotsky's life and work are set. Is, for instance, *The Revolution Betrayed* really "one of the seminal books of this century"?

Yet while recognizing this volume as a fitting conclusion to one of the major works in Soviet studies and a resounding protest against the official falsifications of Soviet historiography, one must still apply to it the canons of "bourgeois objectivity." How valid is Deutscher's image of Trotsky as a prophet, which provides the theme for all three volumes? And was there really "a strong element of victory . . . concealed in his very defeat," as stated in the first volume? Trotsky was wrong, for example, in expecting an uprising of German workers in 1933 or a revolution in Western Europe, or in predicting Stalin's early fall. Deutscher himself continuously points out Trotsky's faulty grasp of realities since the end of the Russian civil war. In the present volume he observes that "the major premise on which Trotsky set out to create the Fourth International was unreal" and that "his ideas and methods and his political character belonged to an epoch

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toward which the present . . . was hostile." He sums up by observing that "the idea pressed toward reality, but . . . reality did not tend toward the idea," which is Marxist jargon for saying that Trotsky was a failure.

The author also calls attention to the constant contradictions in Trotsky's thought. On the one hand Trotsky admitted the "iron necessity" that produced the Stalin regime; given the backwardness of Russia, Stalinism was inevitable. He furthermore approved of every case of Soviet aggression, in Poland or Finland, over the moral objections of many of his followers. On the other hand, he pressed ever more vigorously the moralist, humanitarian, and democratic undercurrents of "classical Marxism" which, as "Prophet Armed," he had readily brushed aside for the sake of success. (Making Trotsky into a representative of "classical Marxism" will not sit well with more "orthodox" Marxists.) Trotsky thus never admitted the element of truth in the Stalinist impatience to catch up and overtake the capitalist West.

While faithfully tracing these contradictions, however, the author himself falls prey to them. In the end he always finds some justification for Trotsky's views, if not in the present then in the distant future, and sometimes by dubious sophistry. He does not rule out, for instance, a Marxist revolution in the United States before the end of this century. Khrushchev's de-Stalinization, too, is not taken as a response to an obvious necessity, but as a personal vindication of Trotsky. And in conclusion, the Soviet Union, now ranked with the West as an industrialized society, is said to be rapidly becoming a true worker's state embracing "classical Marxism." That fact, in Deutscher's opinion, will revive revolutionary Marxism in the West: "The West in which a Marxism debased by Mother Russia into Stalinism inspired disgust and fear, will surely respond in quite a different manner to a Marxism cleansed of barbarous accretions." At this point the reader can only blink at the assertion of personal taste, discussion of which, according to the Latin adage, is useless. By the author's own admission, indeed, his interpretation is inspired by a strong dose of wishful thinking: "*It cannot be, it would be contrary to all historical sense* [italics mine], that so high an intellectual energy, so prodigious an activity, so noble a martyrdom should not have their impact eventually." Maybe the tragedies and injustices of history are even greater than Deutscher thinks.

An unfriendly critic of Trotsky might indeed take a very different over-all view. With equal justice he might describe him as a resounding political failure ever since the revolution was accomplished and new tasks devolved on the regime. Lenin criticized him in terms almost identical with those normally applied to Stalin: "too much attracted by the purely administrative aspect of affairs"; yet he never understood the need for administration as Stalin did. As an irresponsible outsider he then turned on the more astute and perceptive Stalin the full fury of a rediscovered democratic humanitarianism. With all the arrogance of the revolutionary Marxist who considers himself the chosen vehicle of history, he carried his opposition to the point of active subversion, calling for no less than the overthrow

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of Stalin. Surely he, too, bore his share of guilt for the Stalinist terror and the horrors of the purges.

As long as it is understood, however, that Trotsky's story can be interpreted variously, there is no need here to quarrel with a reasonably (and at times admirably) sound piece of hagiography, which will always be the starting point for future biographers of Trotsky. By any standard Trotsky was a remarkable man, one of the great figures of revolutionary Europe. He deserves at least one eulogy written by a disciple. And even so, how tepid the legacy has become in Deutscher's retelling! It will hardly jar the "bourgeois" audience for which this work was written. We are apt to remember Trotsky, the exile, not as the implacable advocate of a Leninist revolution in the West, but as the helpless prey of the wicked Stalin and the author of the *History of the Russian Revolution*. Is that victory or defeat for "the Prophet"?

Washington University THEODORE H. VON LAUE

SOVIET AGRICULTURAL AND PEASANT AFFAIRS. Edited by *Roy D. Laird*. [Slavic Studies Series, Number 1.] (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 335. $7.00.)

THE interest currently being shown in the problems of Russian agriculture by Soviet officialdom emphasizes once more the importance of agriculture in Russian affairs. Recently Western scholars have begun to give this problem the serious consideration it warrants (see the writings of Jasny, Timoshenko, Richter, Volin, Jackson, Laird, and others). To this growing corpus can now be added *Soviet Agricultural and Peasant Affairs*, a collection of papers presented to a conference of Soviet specialists at the University of Kansas in 1962. The papers have been arranged under three broad categories representing the political, economic, and physical aspects of Soviet agriculture. Included are a brief outline of the historical setting of Russian agriculture by D. W. Treadgold, an analysis of the politics of Soviet agriculture by R. D. Laird, a discussion of Khrushchev's agricultural administration by H. R. Swearer, and a survey of the problems connected with the use of incentives to increase agricultural output by A. Nove. Also included are papers on the structure and attitudes of the rural population by D. B. Shimkin, the problems connected with the efficient formulation of Soviet agricultural statistics by A. Kahan, and certain problems associated with the choice of, assistance to, and production of field and industrial crops by W. A. D. Jackson, E. R. Leng, P. E. Lydolph, and N. Jasny.

While each author has interpreted the general title of the work from the viewpoint of his own discipline, there have emerged nonetheless a number of recurring themes: the struggle of economic and political forces for control of Soviet agriculture; the gradual submergence of the kolkhoz system; the search for an answer to the age-old Russian problem of centralization or decentralization of administrative agencies (in this case agriculture); the relative merits of intensive versus extensive agricultural methods (apparently settled, once more, as of

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February 14, 1964); the feasibility of incentive payments to Russian agriculturists. While the historian will find much of interest in these issues, he may be disturbed occasionally by the overriding emphasis upon present-mindedness in matters relating to the Russian peasantry (Treadgold's essay is a notable exception). The overwhelming concern for the bureaucratic and statistical aspects of agriculture have dehumanized it. Where are the Maynards, Mackenzie Wallaces, and Rickmans who "humanized" the peasant for earlier generations?

Individually the papers and the commentaries make a valuable contribution to their several disciplines. The great merit of such interdisciplinary studies is the opportunity they afford the specialist in one area of Russian affairs to keep abreast of research being undertaken in other areas. While the majority of these papers will be of special interest to political scientists, economists, agronomists, and sociologists, the Russian historian will find much that can be helpful to him (especially the papers of Kahan and Jackson).

The value of this collection can be measured by the fact that a second conference, on East European agriculture, will be held in the fall of 1964. The format and editing of this volume augur well for the new "Slavic Studies Series" of the University of Kansas, of which this is the first volume.

University of Houston R. F. Drew

Near East

REFORM IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1856–1876. By *Roderic H. Davison.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 479. $12.50.)

The period of Westernizing reform known as the *Tanzimat* has occasioned sharp differences in appreciation. To perhaps a majority of Western observers, the reform measures were camouflage designed to preclude European intervention. To some Turkish critics, the *Tanzimat* statesmen went too far in trying to graft alien institutions onto Turkish society; as a result, they created a fatal dualism. To other critics, the reformers were not radical enough; they should have moved straightforwardly down the road of secularism. To Davison, there is some truth in such varied assessments, but they miss the significant point that the *Tanzimat* period was a "seedtime" in which the Ottoman Empire was "irrevocably committed to the path of modernization and westernization."

As the author sees it, the policy that the Ottoman statesmen adopted could not meet the contradictions within the Ottoman situation. Fuad and Ali followed European advice while waging a battle against foreign intervention of all sorts. They sought to create a fusion of the subject peoples, but the measures adopted tended to emphasize separatism and to stimulate the growth of nationalism among the non-Moslems. In the end, the passing of Fuad and Ali was followed by a period of strong Islamic reaction against Western influence.

Ottoman reform was also shaped by "personalities and the pure concatenation

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of historical events." The eclipse of France removed one of the strongest influences for reform. As Ali Pasha failed to provide a successor, his death ushered in a period of chaos in Ottoman administration. Had Murad been in vigorous health, the constitution of 1876 might have become a going concern. Midhat did not merit the charges of insincerity and dishonesty that have been leveled at him, but he was no genius. Thus the constitution was stillborn.

Davison's "preliminary attempt to recount and assess the major reform developments" must be reckoned an unqualified success. A multitude of important questions still require major research for their elucidation. In assessing the effectiveness of the provincial and millet regulations, for instance, one must rely on the estimates of Western observers and the strictures of Turkish critics instead of detailed studies of the actual administration. At the same time, all the chief questions have been clarified. The author has utilized the extensive Turkish memoir and scholarly literature as well as both published and archival Western sources. The documentation is meticulous, the notes are where notes ought to be, and there is an annotated bibliography of thirty-nine pages.

University of Illinois C. Ernest Dawn

AMERICAN INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1900–1939. By *John A. DeNovo*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 447. $7.50.)

Professor DeNovo adheres well to his stated objective: to provide a description and assessment in a single volume of American cultural, economic, and diplomatic activities in the Middle East during the first forty years of the twentieth century. For his purposes, the Middle East corresponds roughly to the Mashriq—Turkey, Persia, and the Arab East—avoiding the sometimes broader application of the term to the Balkans, the Islamic areas of South and Southeast Asia, or the Maghrib.

The author has projected a second volume to cover the years 1939 to 1950. He notes that his cutoff point for the present volume, the beginning of World War II, was predetermined by practical considerations, particularly the unavailability at this point of archival and manuscript sources in sufficient quantity.

DeNovo divides his account into three chronological periods. In the first, the pre-World War I period, he deals naturally with the Ottoman Empire and Persia, the paramount local political forces at this time in the area. American interests in the Middle East in the nineteenth century had been minimal, he notes, being largely confined to missionary activities, archaeology, and philanthropy. These interests increased in intensity in the first part of the twentieth century but not greatly in scope, with a few such exceptions as the Chester project for railroad and mining ventures in Turkey.

The second period deals with the impact that Ottoman disintegration in World War I made on these American interests. He treats, for example, American reaction to the Armenian massacres, the Palestine problem, and President

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Wilson's response to both through his King-Crane and Harbord Commissions. The author notes that the American delegation at the Lausanne Conference in 1923, which attempted to resolve the loose ends in the Middle East left over from World War I, reflected the true area of American concern at this time in the Middle East. Essentially, the delegation was concerned with the rights of American nationals—missionaries, educators, and the Open Door—and American ideals, especially the protection of minorities. The postwar rise of Kemalist nationalism and the disappearance of the capitulations, of course, appeared to threaten these positions and, therefore, generated serious American misgivings.

In the third period, covering the interwar years, the author treats, *inter alia,* the continuing American missionary, cultural, and philanthropic efforts in the Middle East in the face of growing Turkish, Persian, and Arab nationalism. Two new factors, however, were introduced to color American relations: the development of American oil interests in the Middle East and the growing importance of the Palestine problem.

DeNovo provides new insights on these periods, particularly in the cultural and economic areas. In the process, he demonstrates that, contrary to popular assumptions, the Middle East was not terra incognita for the United States before World War II. Also, while American diplomacy was not a major factor in the Middle Eastern developments prior to World War II, American interests had perceptibly evolved during the period. Oil and Zionism, for example, were two important factors destined to involve America in the area diplomatically.

The book is clearly written and well documented. Some might criticize it because its sources are essentially Western and largely American. Middle Eastern and European sources, for example, are cited comparatively infrequently in the book. Nevertheless, this criticism must be weighed within the parameters of the state of the art at this point. The historical treatment of this period is just now getting under way; therefore, DeNovo's book is indeed a contribution in that he has gathered and assessed an enormous volume of source material which, while often assumed, had not hitherto been historically evaluated. This, of course, makes his book a worth-while contribution to the historical literature of the Middle East and a *Hilfsmittel* for future studies. I am looking forward to the second volume.

University of Southern California WILLARD A. BELING

Africa

THE IMAGE OF AFRICA: BRITISH IDEAS AND ACTION, 1780–1850. By *Philip D. Curtin.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. xvii, 526. $8.00.)

DURING the last few years, American university and commercial publishers have, alas, flooded our academic islands with a torrent of slight, ephemeral, and un-

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worthy books about tropical Africa. We have suffered "potted" histories and "quickie" situation reports, dreary clerical compendiums, third-rate imitations in the Guntherian manner, scissors-and-paste anthologies, and row upon row of thoughtless paperbacks. In the historical field good monographs have been few, and sound syntheses rarer.

Curtin's *Image* happily stands above the flood. Some time ago the author evidently began to concern himself with the interaction of British ideas and West African life. He examined the changing way in which Britons had looked at Africa and Africans, analyzed the main British experiences in Africa and the degree to which those experiences affected the popular and official views of Africa, and read widely in the published literature of the day. The author has scrutinized the development of the Georgian and early Victorian responses to the challenges posed by Britain's historic connections with Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold and Niger Coasts. The resultant synthesis is the most significant recent American contribution to our understanding of the forces active in the shaping of the history of modern Africa.

Curtin masterfully discusses the growth of racial ideas and the conscious and unconscious niches into which Britons placed Africans, the prevalent confusion in British circles between culture and race (even the humanitarians evidently regarded Africans in an inferior light), the British concept of African "barbarism" and their picture of "cardboard savages," and the consequent development of that peculiar ideological construct, the "civilizing mission." Its companion, "legitimate commerce," receives similar attention. Mortality on the African coast helped to order British responses; the author provides an illuminating survey of the changing etiology of vector-borne West African diseases. He also adds new insights to our understanding of the eighteenth-century utopian schemes. Sierra Leone and the Swedenborgian New Jerusalem receive particularly perceptive treatment. Geographic and cartographic fancies, the exertions of explorers, the efforts of ethnologists and linguists, the legislative and ideological wars between proponents and opponents of slavery and the slave trade, and much else find a place. Several chapters contain worth-while bibliographical discussions. Curtin concludes with a valuable study of British official ambivalence regarding its responsibilities toward the "informal" empire that a handful of proconsuls (who themselves expressed little ambivalence) had already extended to the peoples of West Africa.

The image nevertheless remains confused. British attitudes themselves were inconsistent; the chart of culture and race—of the European *Afrikaanschauung*—wanders. We therefore view no single consistent historical stream. The author has instead elaborated a number of different intellectual currents fashionable at the time and interspersed such chapters with discussions of the way in which these ideas played a discernible part in the historical development of British West Africa. In part, this approach results in a series of thinly connected essays and a certain degree of repetition. There is more synthesis than thesis.

For a book of its complexity, the *Image* is disfigured by few discrepancies. Many might question Curtin's view of the motives of Granville Sharp, the use of

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the word "scramble" to connote Britain's interest in West Africa before the Napoleonic Wars, the role of Sir Joseph Banks in the later affairs of the African Association, internal developments in early Oyo, the events of the Anglo-Ashanti war of 1821, and a number of other more trivial points. Though some surprising spelling and grammatical errors escaped the proofreader, the book reads well, is presented attractively, and is enlivened by intelligently drawn maps and the author's attractive photographs.

This work is not, and was not intended to be, an essay in African history. It contributes measurably, nonetheless, to our appreciation of the British factor in that sphere and, more narrowly, to the history of the British perception of its imperial mission. Every chapter contains memorable quotations and reflections that will no doubt merit the attention of present and future generations of scholars.

Harvard University ROBERT I. ROTBERG

Asia and the East

CHINA AND CHRISTIANITY: THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE GROWTH OF CHINESE ANTIFOREIGNISM, 1860–1870. By *Paul A. Cohen.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 11.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 392. $7.00.)

THIS careful and balanced account of an early stage of the Sino-European confrontation begins with the opening of the Chinese interior to missionaries and traders by the Tientsin treaties of 1860 and ends with the cataclysmic Tientsin "Massacre" of 1870. This highly publicized demonstration of Western intrusion and Chinese anti-Christian, antiforeign violence destroyed a Catholic church and orphanage, four English and American chapels, and caused the death of the French consul and his secretary, nineteen priests and nuns, and some "thirty or forty Chinese converts." Thus the first large-scale experiment in East-West understanding ended in death and destruction. "In an afternoon a decade's work was undone."

To explain this Professor Cohen has an excellent chapter on the Confucian intellectuals' attitude toward orthodoxy and heterodoxy, with the latter represented first by Taoism and the teachings of Mo Ti, later by Buddhism, and finally by Christianity. Buddhism and Christianity also introduced another factor into the problem—xenophobia. Chinese literature on this subject is examined in the classics, in the writings of Chinese scholars in the periods of the rise of Buddhism, the Jesuit missions of the late Ming and early Ch'ing, and of the return of foreign traders and missionaries to the Chinese scene in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The main body of the work deals with the recrudescence of anti-Christian and antiforeign activities brought about by the Christian inspired Taiping rebellion

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which shook the Empire from 1850 to 1865, by the Tientsin treaties of 1858–1860 which opened up the interior to foreigners, and by the flood of violent and salacious literature and poster art which directly incited more than a hundred "Missionary Cases" in this decade alone. This contemporary literature is carefully explored as to origin and authorship, translated, explained, and eight of the inflammatory posters reproduced in the text. This is done in a scholarly, expert way and furnishes one of the most interesting parts of the book.

Succeeding chapters deal with selected missionary cases in various parts of the country, carefully delineating the circumstances of each, the role of the gentry and the populace, the efforts of the local officials, the often provocative and occasionally outrageous activities of zealous priests and bishops, and the generally conciliatory but ineffective policy of the Tsungli yamen and the foreign diplomats in Peking. The great majority of the cases involve the Catholics and the French because they, being the first to move into the interior after 1860, had the most contact with the people and local officials. Two cases involve the China Inland Mission (British) which entered the field only at the end of the decade, 1868–1870. French and British policies and interests are carefully and objectively compared.

The aftermath of the Tientsin catastrophe was a strengthening of the orthodox Confucian opposition and a new flare-up of antimissionary cases across the country, with demands that all Christian activities be terminated in China. The Tsungli yamen, however, was conciliatory and realistic. Indemnities were paid for Catholic (and Protestant-minor) properties destroyed in Tientsin, local officials were removed from office, mob leaders were beheaded, and an official mission led by a high Manchu official, Ch'ung-ho, was sent to Paris to apologize. The efforts to renegotiate the French treaty and restate the missionary problem, however, failed, and the "cases" built up to the next international crisis, the Boxer uprising of 1900.

Not as criticisms of Cohen's valuable study, but as suggestions for further research in this rich field, three minor points may be raised: to what extent actual linguistic and translation difficulties account for the violent objections of the literati to Christian gospel, for example, interpreting "communion" as "sexual intercourse"; the American missionary practice of "flooding" the interior with tracts, carried by native colporteurs for decades before 1860, which might account for the use of this method by the Chinese in the decade under study; and the importance of the fact that the missionaries spoke and read Chinese—as the merchants seldom did—and thus not only made direct contact with the Chinese people, but also laid themselves open for misunderstanding on a vast scale. Chinese opposition to teaching the language and selling books to foreigners indicates that this may have been a factor in China's preference of traders to missionaries.

University of Colorado EARL SWISHER

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20TH CENTURY CHINA. By O. *Edmund Clubb.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 470. $7.95.)

THIS extremely useful political history of China covers the period from the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1912 to the present—a period of momentous and far-reaching changes. The author carefully sorts out both the confusing internal events and personalities and the complicated relations of China with foreign nations during this half century. While the reader may at times feel overwhelmed by the multiplicity of names, he will find it a great help to have all the activities and relationships of this period arranged and clarified.

The book is divided into three parts: Part I, "Collapse of the Confucian Order," summarizes the warlord period and the nationalist movement of the 1920's. Part II, "The Nationalist Interregnum," traces the history of the Central Government of the Kuomintang from its establishment in 1928 through the second Sino-Japanese War to its flight to Taiwan in 1949–1950, together with the concurrent rise in power and influence of the Chinese Communist party. Part III, "The Communist Era in China," deals with the People's Republic established by the Communists in October 1949, describing its domestic and foreign programs and activities to 1963. Although there is a minimum of interpretation in the first half of the book, the interpretive discussion of the Communist period is full, balanced, and thought provoking.

Mr. Clubb takes great pains to emphasize the domestic roots of Chinese Communism. "It is this writer's proposition that the Chinese Communists are Chinese first and Communists only second. In other words, instead of being a corpus inherited from Marx and Engels via Lenin and Stalin, the Chinese Communist doctrine is shaped by China's past." Even though he goes on to say, "Both 'Communism' and 'China,' of course, are important factors in the composition called 'Chinese Communism' . . . ," I believe that, in his effort to counteract the popular view in the United States that the policies and beliefs of the Chinese Communists are wholly alien to China, Clubb may have understated the influence of Marxism-Leninism and of the USSR itself. This is a matter of emphasis, however, about which there is bound to be disagreement among responsible historians. The work is soundly based upon a critical reading of pertinent source materials, but it also benefits from the author's own observation of many of the events described, which seems to inform, not to prejudice his judgment. The book is well written and is as objective in approach and interpretation as is possible when dealing with very recent events.

Cornell University KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF

THE MODERN HISTORY OF JAPAN. By *W. G. Beasley.* [The Praeger Asia-Africa Series.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. xi, 352. $7.50.)

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PROFESSOR Beasley's previous publications include *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan, 1834–1858* (1951), *Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy, 1853–1868* (1955), and, with E. G. Pulleyblank, *Historians of China and Japan* (1961).

The present volume is brief, well arranged, and incisive. It will not replace the more detailed studies of Chitoshi Yanaga (*Japan since Perry* [1949]) and Hugh Borton (*Japan's Modern Century* [1955]), but Beasley writes from a lengthier perspective. With postwar Japan not only visible but having a substantial history, he can evaluate the course of events since Perry with greater hindsight than Yanaga and Borton, who made the pioneer efforts in this regard. What Beasley discovers, simply stated, is that Japan has at last become "modern"—not in the bright young pupil sense of the Meiji years or the arrogant power consciousness of the 1930's, but in a reasonable and sophisticated way. It has become a secular society that nevertheless realizes that the pursuit of wealth is not all there is to life, leaving room for a variety of ideals, religions, and ideologies, but without overindulgence in any one of them. Japan still has many problems, but, in the author's view, is at least as well equipped to deal with them as other modern nations.

The road from Tokugawa isolation to the present relatively felicitous condition has been a difficult and often tumultuous one, the course of which the author, who is professor of Far Eastern history at the University of London, traces with skill. Utilizing his own primary research, he lays a firm groundwork for understanding the forces that undermined the Tokugawa system as "money became the prime concern to Japan's feudal rulers" and uses thumbnail sketches of men who tried to grapple with the financial problems of the feudatories to dramatize statistical data. Later he uses sketches of the early Meiji leaders with equal effectiveness, and his general analysis of the late Meiji era is sound, based on the best monographic literature. As exemplified in his observing that the Mitsui was "one of the very few" great merchant families of Tokugawa times to continue to thrive in the new era, he catches the subleties of analysis revealed by recent research.

Similarly with the Taisho and Showa eras he handles such complex matters as Kato's superiority over Hara in pushing the liberal cause in the twenties, the several streams of the ultranationalist movement, the phenomenon of *gekokujo* (lower echelon pressure in the military), and the coming of the Pacific war with a sure hand. He does not attempt new interpretations, but the limited space he can give these matters in a general study is utilized to say succinctly what the researches of Scalapino, Storry, Maxon, Butow, F. C. Jones, and D. M. Brown have brought out.

Two minor points of criticism may be noted. On page 192 the author speaks of "many things in Japan which had hardly been touched by the Meiji reforms" and then goes on to discuss religion as a prime example. Not a reform in the positive sense, state Shinto was nonetheless an innovation of powerful and far-reaching consequence both in the Meiji period and later. Then in the chapter on "Japan Becomes a World Power, 1914–1922," he dwells on continental expansion

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and army policies perhaps to the neglect of oceanic expansion and naval matters.

This can, however, be recommended as a fine survey of modern Japan by an expert.

University of Pennsylvania HILARY CONROY

JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES, 1868–1898. By *Josefa M. Saniel.* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines. 1963. Pp. xv, 409.)

JAPANESE-PHILIPPINE relations in the thirty years before American acquisition of the Philippines are important in the study of the development of Japanese foreign policy. Although some Nipponese nationalists toward the end of the period were interested in expansion to the Philippines, the Tokyo government never lost its key objective of ending the unequal treaties with the Western Powers. It was convinced that an effort to take the Philippines from Spain would seriously impair Japan's attempt to achieve equality in the family of nations. Dr. Josefa M. Saniel, in analyzing the course of Japanese-Philippine relations, 1868–1898, has made a major contribution to an understanding of the subject. She has considered both official and unofficial relations supporting her evidence by careful research in Japanese and Philippine archives. Trade between Japan and the Philippines is given particular attention, and a number of appendixes relate specifically to the topic. Especially interesting is Appendix IV where the Japanese consul in Hong Kong reports to the Foreign Minister in Tokyo the findings of his visit to the Philippines in 1886. In an effort to give perspective to developments from 1888 to 1898, the former date marking the establishment of a Japanese consulate in Manila, the author has devoted a chapter to what she calls the prelude and one to what she terms the decades of probings (1868–1888). In parts of her study Saniel has placed considerable stress on the ideological basis of expansionism, seeking to place it in the world context.

The book is well organized, carefully written, and in the best traditions of scholarship. The bibliography is commendable both in organization and content. A list of letters and interviews at the end of the bibliography indicates how thoroughly the author has tried to utilize all available sources of information. The footnotes are extensive, but the author maintains that in a pioneering work they could not be reduced in number or content. Few people will probably read word for word all the twelve appendixes, a total of ninety-seven pages, often technical in nature. In evaluating Saniel's book I get the impression that she had not reached her conclusions before she began her research, but rather allowed her findings to speak for themselves. Perhaps this point should not even be mentioned, but it can no longer be taken for granted that tentative conclusions in research designs are not, in fact, already the final ones. Saniel has made an objective study which should survive the crucial test of time.

St Antony's College, Oxford RUSSELL H. FIFIELD

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POLITICAL THEORY OF ANCIENT INDIA: A STUDY OF KINGSHIP FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO *CIRCA* A. D. 300. By *John W. Spellman.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xxiv, 288. $6.10.)

In this study, Mr. Spellman attempts a conceptual analysis of ancient Indian political ideas. His categories include "The Origins of Government," "The Divinity of Kings," "The Royal Succession," "Ministers and Councils," "The Rule of Law," "Principles of Statecraft," "The King and the Economic System," "Religious Aspects of Rulership," and "Revolution."

Aside from the fact that burgeoning interest in Indian studies makes any contribution in this field of greater interest than formerly, is this work justified by any significant difference of approach or superiority of treatment as compared to previous studies? The definitive works have been Kane's monumental five-volume *History of Dharmasastra* (1941–58) and Ghoshal's *History of Indian Political Ideas* (1959), both of which Spellman has put to good use, although his topical approach produces a volume that in many respects is more helpful than the chronological surveys of Ghoshal and Kane. It is closer in scheme to Sarkar's *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (1922) or to Varma's *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundations* (1952). But it differs markedly from Sarkar and the body of earlier writings on Indian polity such as Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* (1924) in that there is no attempt here to read into the ancient theories any motives or problems characteristic of European experience. The whole is written in the terms of ancient Indian concepts and in the context of classical Hindu civilization. There are exceptions, however: the discussion of the "Mandate of Heaven" which oversimplifies the problem of imperial legitimacy in China, and the untenable statement that the American Declaration of Independence summarizes "the most prevalent theory of revolution in the world today."

The author has produced a surprisingly readable text. It avoids the strained and specious reasoning and disputation that pass for research in some of the more recent writing in this field. Although the book is intended for "university students, government employees, and laymen," it has high merit as a work of scholarship. Its chief virtue is the remarkably judicious quality of the argument. In each case, conclusions are based upon the original textual sources, but this alone would not be sufficient without an understanding of the cultural foundations of these same sources. I refer the reader, for example, to the discussion of "Revolution," a problem on which Western commentators on Indian theory usually flounder. In this instance, Spellman's presentation affords, by itself, an insight into the nature of the traditional polity. The historian who is not an Indologist would be well advised to look to the present work for an authentic introduction to the subject.

University of California, Santa Barbara D. Mackenzie Brown

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN RURAL INDIA: LAND TENURE AND REFORM IN UTTAR PRADESH, 1800-1955. By *Walter C. Neale.* [Yale Stud-

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ies in Economics, Number 12.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 333. $7.50.)

LAND reform has been given a prominent place among newly emergent nations of the world that are often burdened by deep agrarian distress. In independent India, where that problem has been as grave as anywhere, the first significant attempt at land reform came in 1951 with the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Act. Professor Neale has examined this legislation and the program initiated under it against the background of the previous 150-year career of the agrarian order in the north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. The result is a sound and detailed study of considerable potential value to historians in a number of fields besides India.

Neale's main argument is that changes in the land system of Uttar Pradesh have been continuous since 1801 when a substantial portion of that populous and agriculturally important Gangetic territory came under the East India Company's rule. Many of these changes were deliberate attempts at reform; still others were inadvertent. But in any case, whether deliberate or accidental, or whether under the British to 1948 or Indians after, these changes failed to stem or to reverse the trend toward a deepening crisis on the Gangetic countryside. It is, in fact, this condition of deepening agrarian crisis and poverty that is the central focus of Neale's study, and he demonstrates that the roots of this crisis have not been, nor could they be, touched by previous reform schemes because the basic causes of the condition have never been related to land tenure, but to other factors. These factors are: a chronic lack of capital for productive investment in agriculture, the absence or incomplete introduction of the market, the social structure and culture of the north Indian village community, and the lack of respect for secular government which I take to mean the persistent failure of rational administrative efforts to overcome certain elements of the structure and culture of rural Indian society.

To this principal argument should be added two important subsidiary arguments of Neale. One is his discussion of the failure of the market to develop adequately. The reasons for this failure are excellently discussed, but one problem arises. Neale in various places in the book joins other writers in stating that the basic failure of British agrarian policies was that they destroyed an old system without replacing it with another. Yet, the reasons that Neale adduces for the failure of the market to develop seem to include certain of the core components of the old system!

The second subsidiary argument is that the 1951 Zamindari Abolition Act, promulgated by an independent Indian government, was not a reversal of previous land policies in Uttar Pradesh, but, with some exceptions, represented fundamental continuity with British policies. Again, Neale's arguments are sound and persuasive, but perhaps they are incomplete. Scarcely noticed by Neale is the tension that existed in British times and continues to exist in inde-

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pendent India between the requirements of a more productive Indian agriculture and those of political stability. The "Oudh Compromise" of the 1860's is probably the best example of British concern with political stability over the requirements for land reform in the support that was given to the powerful *talukdar* class of that part of Uttar Pradesh. Features of the zamindari legislation of 1951 reveal the same concern. Neale states that the *Report* of the Zamindari Abolition Committee was characterized by "radicalism in philosophy and realism about U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] politics somehow combining to justify a policy of leaving the status quo undisturbed." Indeed, one would expect that land reform in a dominantly agrarian society like India, if it were not expressly revolutionary in nature, would ever be weighed against political repercussions. In both the British and independent Indian situations, the political factors counted for much in the basic design of land reform and hence its lack of success. This does not deny the power of Neale's essentially economic argument, but it does raise an issue with which Neale, though obviously aware of it, does not adequately deal.

University of Minnesota BURTON STEIN

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI. Volume I (1884–1896); Volume II (1896–1897); Volume III (1898–1903); Volume IV (1903–1905); Volume V (1905–1906); Volume VI (1906–1907); Volume VII (JUNE–DECEMBER 1907); Volume VIII (JANUARY–AUGUST 1908); Volume IX (SEPTEMBER 1908–NOVEMBER 1909). (Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. 1958; 1959; 1960; 1960; 1961; 1961; 1962; 1962; 1963. Pp. xxx, 404; xv, 398; xxii, 498; xxii, 520; xxiii, 520; xxii, 560; xxi, 576; xxii, 603; xxiv, 668. Volumes I–II, $2.50 each; Volumes III–IX, $6.00 each.)

IN publishing *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* the government of India has undertaken a project of vast proportions, and one that will provide indispensable source materials for the serious student of modern India. It is suggested in a foreword that the series will consist of over fifty volumes. Considering the fact that Volume IX, however, contains works written to the end of 1909 only, it is likely that the original estimate will prove to be a conservative one.

The collection contains virtually all the writings, speeches, and letters of Gandhi, arranged in strictly chronological order. He wrote and spoke in three languages, Gujarati, Hindi, and English; thus the editors' task was not only one of collection but of accurate translation from the first two languages into English. (The entire series is also being published in Hindi, the official language of India.) Documents or letters written by Gandhi in the course of his professional work as a lawyer and those of a totally routine nature have been omitted. In general, however, it is clear from these nine volumes that the editors were not inclined to omit anything that could conceivably be of even the slightest sig-

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nificance. The historian certainly cannot object to this policy, at least so long as he is not required to purchase the entire series.

The arrangement of the material is so strictly chronological that all items of a particular date, whether article, speech, or letter, are placed together. A less rigid plan might have provided for the arrangement of material according to topic within each volume, which would have had certain advantages. Gandhi carried on an extensive private correspondence with many individuals concerning personal problems and especially religious questions. These letters are juxtaposed with articles and speeches dealing with extremely vital political issues in South Africa and India. The arrangement of material does, however, "reveal the richness of Gandhiji's mind which, while dealing with matters of great public importance, concerned itself no less with intimate personal problems of individuals."

The material in each volume is introduced by a helpful preface which provides the general background of events for that period of Gandhi's life. Most of the first and all of the other eight volumes are devoted to Gandhi's articles and letters written in South Africa. These volumes present much information on the evolution of Gandhi's personal and political philosophy during the twenty-one years of his work in South Africa. Gandhi's belief in *Satyagraha* and its moral basis as a political technique gradually matured and became a fervent faith during this period. Increasingly he saw his experiment in South Africa as the prelude to a mighty movement for the freedom of India and as the hope for all oppressed peoples. In 1908 he declared: "In a country where people suffer injustice and oppression and are denied their legitimate rights, their real duty lies in suffering imprisonment. And further, so long as the bonds that bind have not been snapped, I think it is better that we spend our days in jail. This I think is the true meaning of religion for those who have faith in God."

University of Pennsylvania DONALD E. SMITH

THE TWO VIET-NAMS: A POLITICAL AND MILITARY ANALYSIS. By *Bernard B. Fall.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. xii, 493. $7.95.)

THE several parts of this book are highly disparate. The initial historical chapters constitute an emotionally charged defense of France's colonial role. Four succeeding chapters on North Vietnam and five subsequent ones covering the decade of postwar French fumbling and the mistakes of the Diem regime are more solidly grounded. The author's treatment of the decade since 1953 is based largely on personal observation, an opportunity afforded by his freedom of access as a French citizen. His polemic approach throughout reflects the deep-seated resentment and wounded pride characteristic of French opinion regarding events of postwar Indochina. His mood mellows in the final chapter on policy alternatives, where he concedes that America's fumbling role may not be entirely hopeless after all.

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Chapters II and III are especially argumentative. The Vietnamese are reminded that they were colonialists long before the French arrived. Pigneau de Behaine allegedly headed, in the 1790's, a group of "Katanga-style adventurers"; the early colonial administration is mistakenly assigned to the Colonial Office instead of the Admiralty. French colonial policy even after 1900, we learn, was not mercantilist at all, and it presented no substantial economic advantages to French civil servants, investors, and entrepreneurs! French rule, in fact, contributed generously to social welfare, popular education, and effective political representation. Furthermore, Ho Chi Minh, prior to 1914, made contact with the (then nonexistent) Ku Klux Klan while residing briefly in Harlem. Governor-General De Coux's wartime record of social reform accomplishments is adjudged superior to those of the same period in Rhodesia and Mississippi. This bizarre historical array prepares the way for Fall's bitter condemnation of FDR's allegedly groundless opposition to the restoration of French rule after World War II. But Roosevelt's plans for a free Indochina, never very clear, were not pursued by the Truman administration, even though some aspects of military intelligence cooperation with Ho Chi Minh carried over into the fall of 1945. Admittedly, by the end of 1945, French troops of the reoccupation were supplied with American weapons and were also cooperating with the Viet Minh to rid the country of Chinese occupation forces.

The main body of the book is clearly superior to the early chapters. It includes useful biographical sketches of both Ho Chi Minh and Ngo Dinh Diem and gives a reasoned explanation of French military failure plus clarifying descriptions of the two surviving regimes and the character of their conflict. Not everything in the North has been the epitome of progress and harmony, and yet the dictatorial and self-righteous regime at Saigon came so closely to resemble that of Hanoi that it afforded no basis on which to rally popular support to Diem. Fall's presentation of Bao Dai as an astutely sincere patriot is not very convincing, and his contrasting picture of the Ngo Dinh family regime as blindly repressive and fanatically Catholic seems also exaggerated. He properly attributes America's inability to reverse the unfavorable political trend developing in South Vietnam after 1959 to hesitation to interfere overtly and to the mistaken view that the developing revolutionary conflict was capable of military solution. Withdrawal of blanket American support to Diem in 1963 was allegedly long overdue. Fall proposes that the United States should endeavor, once the guerrilla operation is contained, to promote some mutually advantageous economic accommodation between the North and South and thus afford opportunity for the more moderate pro-Russian faction at Hanoi to assert control. Under such circumstances, a generally applicable neutralist cordon running from Burma to Laos, to Cambodia, to South Vietnam might prove feasible. The book's basic argument is worth serious consideration, despite its many deficiencies as objective history.

Ohio University JOHN F. CADY

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THE CRADLE OF COLONIALISM. By *George Masselman.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 534. $10.00.)

WHAT this book is about is not clear from the title. Its dominant theme is the Dutch in Southeast Asia, 1595–1629: their navigation, trade, rivalry, and empire building in the area, from the initial cape voyage under Houtman to the death of Governor-General Coen (about 330 pages), the whole set against the background of the maritime-commercial rise, revolt, and international relations of the United Provinces in Europe (about 100 pages), and native and Portuguese trade and imperialism in the Orient (about 30 pages). The author, who "served in the United States Government as an expert on Southeast Asia during World War II and the postwar years," writes from printed sources, drawing mainly on Dutch and English scholarly literature and published documents, with heaviest dependence (judging by the footnotes) on syntheses in English, or in English translation, by B. Schrieke (1955–57), M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), D. G. E. Hall (1958), J. C. van Leur (1955), P. Geyl (1930–37), J. L. Motley (1856–76), and G. Edmundson (1911), and on Dutch documents edited by J. K. J. de Jonge (1862–88), H. T. Colenbrander (1919–34), and W. P. Coolhaas (1952–60). Appended is an immense (and poorly organized) bibliography, less than one-third of which is cited in the footnotes.

To the general reader this book, in the main factually sound, will have a certain usefulness by providing a brief, if superficial, sketch of the rise of the Dutch to wealth, power, and independence in Europe; it contains much detail, fairly hard to find unless one reads Dutch, on their individual voyages and general activities in the Orient. Since almost half of the book is built around Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the real founder of Dutch hegemony in the East Indies, this is the most extensive treatment in English of the life and role of this key figure. The specialist on Southeast Asia and on Dutch history, however, will find this work largely a new mixture of old matter, which rarely rises to the level of the previously mentioned syntheses. Economic and general colonial historians must demur when the author, in creating a theoretical framework, advances these propositions: "modern colonialism" began "with the emergence of capitalism in western Europe in the sixteenth century," not with the Spanish and Portuguese, who still administered their colonies as "feudal domains," but rather with the Dutch, "the first to apply the principle of capital investment to overseas ventures"; the "cradle of colonialism" was the East Indies, where the Dutch "set in motion" its "cycle," a "crucial moment in history," from which "flowed the forces that set the pattern of modern colonialism for hundreds of years to come." What about Iberian capitalist enterprise, overwhelmingly private, which during more than a century before the Dutch arrived on the colonial scene developed the fabulous Spanish American mines, the world's leading sugar industry in Brazil, the slave, gold, and ivory trades of Africa, and the far-flung Portuguese "country trade" in Asia? Use of balancing Spanish and Portuguese sources—2

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out of 619 items in the bibliography are in those languages—might have prevented such simplicities and also might have brought the realization that Dutch-Iberian rivalry, much more than Anglo-Dutch (here so stressed), conditioned the character, the direction, and the organization of the Dutch effort in Southeast Asia in this period. This volume is attractively printed, supplied with appropriate maps and illustrations, and has a good index.

University of California, Berkeley ENGEL SLUITER

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC SINCE 1900: A MODERN HISTORY. AUSTRALIA; NEW ZEALAND; THE ISLANDS; ANTARCTICA. By *C. Hartley Grattan*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1963. Pp. x, 759, xxviii. $10.00.)

A DETAILED report on this excellent, encyclopedic volume would consume twice the space allotted for this review. Here is no book for the fireside adventurer to curl up with a splash of sun and salt, or a glimpse of bush Australia and the southern ice. History students will find much of interest and will regret the absence of documentation while applauding the copious, annotated bibliography. The most useful aspect is the able presentation of economic history and its bearing on the area. By including the Antarctic material, which is of considerable intrinsic value, the author weakens the unity of a book about the Southwest Pacific. A professional tone and a pithy style suit Grattan's cool appraisals.

The Australian material (235 pages) emphasizes the birth of the Commonwealth, the emergence of Labour, the cultural slump in the early twentieth century, World War I, the conscription crisis, Hughes at the Imperial War Council and at Versailles, White Australia, the Bruce-Page era and the return of Labour with the depression, the situation of the aborigines, economic developments, Curtin's relations with the US and the Empire, Chifley and Menzies, economic prosperity and the split within Labour, and Australia as a middle power in the Pacific. Points of interest include W. M. Hughes's desire for renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, Australia's resistance to full acceptance of the Statute of Westminster until 1942, Curtin's move toward the US and his compensatory attempt with Smuts and Halifax to promote a permanent imperial secretariat in 1944, and the Australia-New Zealand treaty of January 1944, a step toward maturity.

Ninety-two pages on New Zealand explore the economic bases of the islands, farm politics under Massey, the ties with Britain and World War I, the Maori revival from Carroll to Buck and Ngata, the depression, Labour under Savage and Fraser, appearance of a New Zealand culture, World War II, and the economic problems of a small nation in a dangerous world. Of particular interest are the recent increase and urbanization of the Maori, the economic sections, and

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the closely interrelated analysis of the stresses of life in a welfare utopia, successful but in the Swedish manner.

The three long chapters on the islands of the Southwest Pacific cover, in 221 pages, New Guinea, Nauru, the Samoas, Fiji, and the British High Commission Territories, the large French interests, and the German islands: their colonial systems, the First World War, Australian and Japanese areas, the impact of technological civilization, the birth of politics, the hurricane impact of World War II, the dilemmas of colonialism and self-government. The author pays particular attention to New Guinea and shows an excessive impartiality discussing the Indonesian drive toward Dutch New Guinea. He notes the need for constitutional revision in American Samoa, and, writing on the Fiji-Indian problem, introduces new leaders such as Sukune, and the anti-Asian, Apolosi Nawai. There is less than expected about the indigenous peoples of the islands. Some readers may feel as I do that the Pacific war—the American war—is sketched very briefly. There is a wealth of interesting detail in this section.

The 151 pages on the Antarctic address the sagas of the heroic age of Arctic exploration; the attack phase under Scott, Shackleton, and Amundsen; the modernization of whaling; the national rivalry, including the Nazi attempt to jump the Norwegian claim area; the ascendancy of science; the achievements of Admiral Byrd and the Little America bases; the anticlaim position of the US; British disputes with Argentina and Chile; and the achievements of an international balance based on the relative paucity of natural resources—a balance that the author warns may not be maintained for long. Full coverage is given to the work of Fuchs, Ronne, the Australians with ANARE, the eleven-nation IGY program; American operations and the twelve-power Antarctic treaty drawn up in 1959.

There is but brief comment on nuclear events in the area. Japanese administration in the Carolines is skimped, and phenomena such as the "Cargo Cults" are barely identified. Inevitably some islands (Woleai, Atoll, Alofi, French Frigate Shoals, for example) are omitted; "Caronel" should be Coronel, and "Takesi Ngata" is certainly Takesi Nagata.

Colgate University CHARLES S. BLACKTON

THE GOLDEN AGE: A HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF VICTORIA, 1851–1861. By *Geoffrey Serle.* (Parkville: Melbourne University Press; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. 455. $12.00.)

A GREAT vintage year in Australian historiography was marked in 1963, and this book is one of its outstanding products. The earlier laborers in Clio's Australian vineyard have cultivated the brief survey and the narrowly defined monograph almost to the exclusion of other historical studies. Here, in contrast, is a well-balanced account of the formative decade in the leading Australian colony in the second half of the nineteenth century. It represents an effective fusion of original research and a synthesis of monographic literature. The contempo-

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rary cartoons, sketches, water colors, and early photographs ably supplement the text.

Rarely has the historian of a British colony the good fortune to have so many significant events compressed into such manageable bounds of time and space. In 1850 the Port Phillip District of New South Wales was created a separate colony and named Victoria. In 1851 gold was discovered, and within a decade its population grew from 77,000 to 540,000. Until the closing years of the century it remained the most populous of Australian colonies. This was the first major gold rush with which British colonial officials had to contend. On the whole it was an orderly affair, although administrative maladroitness resulted in the exchange of shots at the Eureka Stockade, giving Australians that symbol of armed resistance to tyranny which seems to be a prerequisite of all national mythologies. While these events were transpiring, the legislature in Melbourne was drafting a new constitution, incorporating what was possibly the most powerful conservative upper chamber in a British colony, to make the transition in 1855 from representative to responsible colonial self-government. Such significant issues were dealt with as the introduction of the secret ("Australian") ballot, manhood suffrage (counterbalanced by provision for plural voting), and the adoption of the eight-hour working day on government projects. Major problems, which were to confound the political scene for years to come, such as "unlocking the land" (to release some of the land controlled by the pastoralists for the use of the small farmer), protectionism and its intercolonial repercussions, and "White Australia," were first confronted in this decade. These themes will be continued in the two further volumes that the author has promised in which he hopes to bring the story of the colony to 1900.

Although Geoffrey Serle's treatment reveals a political bias, he handles with assurance the economic and social ramifications of the eruption of this new colony and its new inhabitants. Gold had attracted adventurers from many parts of the world, but primarily Britons of a sort different from those who had earlier been drawn or dispatched to eastern Australia. Sport receives its Australian due.

It is a pity that this book is so expensive. It deserves to be read not only by British imperial historians and the modern subspecies of the venerable genus, but by those concerned with gold-rush days in California and elsewhere.

University of Waterloo K. A. MacKirdy

Americas

THE FIRST NEW NATION: THE UNITED STATES IN HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. By *Seymour Martin Lipset.* (New York: Basic Books. 1963. Pp. xv, 366. $5.95.)

Professor Lipset has made a valiant attempt to draw upon historical materials for the analysis of contemporary social problems. Two broad themes occupy his

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attention: he seeks to define the social conditions that make a stable democracy possible, and he is concerned with the extent to which the American experience was representative or exceptional. Both are important in understanding the past as well as the present.

The discussion focuses on three problems: A consideration of the process of establishing national authority and identity compares the United States in the early years of the republic with the emerging nations of today. An analysis of religious and trade-union development inquires into the extent to which American character has changed. These two sections lead into an extended examination of the American value system to which equality and achievement are central. The comparisons that enliven the account are thought provoking, and the connections to theory are stimulating. The result, nevertheless, is not altogether satisfactory.

The fault lies not in the use of historical data but in the mode in which the technique is applied. Lipset frames the problems he addresses by reference to contemporary issues as conceptualized in sociological theory; then he adduces data, mostly from secondary sources, to support or qualify his hypotheses. His conclusions, however, can only be as sound as the sources on which they rest, and he runs the risk of wrenching events out of their context.

The opening section of the book illustrates these difficulties. The American experience in the first half century after independence does reveal the problems of new nations established since 1945. There are suggestive parallels in economic policy, in the search for a national identity, and in the role of intellectuals. The analogies to which Lipset points raise suggestive questions about both the present and the past.

The comparisons are, however, sometimes pushed too far. For instance, strong, often dictatorial, leaders dominate the newly liberated countries of the past two decades; these men seem to exemplify Max Weber's proposition that "*charismatic* authority" resting "upon faith in a leader who is believed to be endowed with great personal worth" is one of the ways in which a regime may gain legitimacy. In the analysis of this proposition, the first President of the United States becomes a model of charisma; "in his time, George Washington was idolized as much as many of the contemporary leaders of new states."

In this instance, the comparison obscures rather than enlightens. Apart from its underestimation of the opposition to Washington during his second administration, it misjudges the respect that was accorded him. During his own lifetime, Washington was most often praised by comparison to Cincinnatus, the leader who voluntarily surrendered power to return to the plow. Washington became the embodiment of Republican integrity not because of the exceptional Weemsish traits attributed to him in the nineteenth century but because he was content to be a citizen like any other.

In this crucial respect, his role was certainly unlike that of the chiefs of state of the contemporary new nations. I suspect that the author may also have gone

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astray in the discussion of the development of political parties and of foreign policy in the early decades of the American Republic. But, used with caution, his book offers stimulating insights into historical problems viewed in the context of present-day analogues.

Harvard University OSCAR HANDLIN

THE QUEST FOR POWER: THE LOWER HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY IN THE SOUTHERN ROYAL COLONIES, 1689–1776. By *Jack P. Greene.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1963. Pp. xi, 528. $8.50.)

PROFESSOR Greene, in an engagingly frank preface, has suggested most of the criticisms that will be made of this significant study. The book belongs to a rather old category of institutional history. Except for summary observations in an introductory section, the author makes little attempt to relate the history of the lower houses he has studied to the economic, social, and political life of the colonies they served. The reader often wishes that he knew more about the substantive political issues that precipitated debate of constitutional issues. Inevitably, it might almost be said, the author reaches the conclusion, as stated also in the preface, that "institutional momentum was primarily responsible for the emergence of the lower houses." For such a view there is much to be said, but for many this conclusion will be less than satisfying.

These points of criticism make it all the more important that Greene's contribution to our knowledge of an especially significant chapter in American history be explained. The main part of his text deals with the development of the lower houses between 1689 and 1763 and goes far toward providing an answer to a critical question: how did the lower houses of assembly acquire the power and the capacity for leadership they so obviously demonstrated during the subsequent clash with imperial authority? Selected for study are the assemblies of Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, all of them southern, but colonies that also were much more representative than one might think at first glance. They include both the oldest and the youngest of the colonies and two that passed during this period from proprietary to royal control. In a topical arrangement, a great wealth of detail is brought into order under four main headings: the control acquired by the house in each colony over finance, the civil list, legislative proceedings, and executive affairs. Whatever may be the room left for further investigation of the question of why it all happened, one puts the book down with confidence that he has at hand a ready and sure guide as to when and how it happened. In the case of no other of the colonies, considered singly or collectively, do we have a comparably dependable and useful guide.

The nearest thing to it that we previously have had is Labaree's *Royal Government in America.* Naturally, there is some duplication of subject matter, but Greene's book is distinctly complementary to Labaree's. Labaree wrote from the point of view of Whitehall and necessarily dealt with many problems by way of

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example. Greene writes from the point of view of Williamsburg or Charles Town, and because his work covers a more limited area, he is able to be more complete.

His conclusions, though not startling, are of great interest. It was in the control of finance that the lower houses won their greatest victories. Much less impressive was the control they gained over the civil list and over their own proceedings, but remarkably impressive was the extent to which they were able to usurp the functions of the executive. Having become by 1763 the center of power in the government of the colonies, they responded to the new imperial policy as a direct challenge to their own power and to their sense of what was right under a British constitution of government. In a concluding discussion of the resulting crisis, Greene invites us to read the Declaration of Independence, and more especially Jefferson's indictment of the government of George III, as much less the rationale of a final decision for independence and much more as evidence that the central issue was "the preservation and consolidation" of the powers of the lower houses of assembly. To this conclusion all of us must pay respectful attention.

Princeton University WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume VII, OCTOBER 1, 1756, THROUGH MARCH 31, 1758. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xxvi, 427. $10.00.)

THIS volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* covers a period in Franklin's life that was largely filled with military and political activities.

It was precisely within these months that there came into climactic focus a complex series of issues, chiefly constitutional, in the history of Pennsylvania and the British Empire; a preponderance of the documents printed in this volume concern this crisis. Many of these documents were written by Franklin himself and many by Franklin jointly with others; many others are documents representing matters with which Franklin had to deal.

The problem of Indian relations, for example, was especially troublesome for Pennsylvania. The transition from provincial control of Pennsylvania's relations with the Indians to imperial administration of all Indian affairs in the northern department under Sir William Johnson, reinforced by the peremptory orders of the commander in chief, the Earl of Loudoun, was just being effected. Franklin and the Pennsylvania Assembly approved of this change, but the proprietary party, represented by Richard Peters and aided by the "Quaker faction," actively opposed, even sabotaged, the effort. The proprietary interest thus found itself at issue not only with the Assembly, but with the imperial interests as well. Franklin participated in continued negotiations with the Indians, advised Governor Denny on the transition, and wrote speeches for the governor to deliver to the Indians in the Treaty at Easton.

On the question of the quartering of imperial soldiers in Philadelphia, how-

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ever, the Pennsylvania Assembly found itself in difficulty with Loudoun. The Assembly had extended to Pennsylvania relevant portions of the British Quartering Act, but this enactment had been disallowed in England on the ground that it evaded the colony's responsibility to quarter soldiers in private homes, if necessary, in time of war. Upon Loudoun's demand that soldiers sent to Philadelphia be provided quarters and supplies, there ensued a long and bitter argument between the Provincial Commissioners and the Assembly, on the one side, and the governor and the military on the other, over the kind, amount, and quality of housing and supplies the colony should furnish. The controversy was finally settled on the basis of suggestions made by Franklin, but beneath the controversy there was the broad question of quartering soldiers in private homes, one of the constitutional issues in the era of American independence.

Also in connection with the problem of defense, the Assembly demanded that the proprietors' land be taxed, along with all other property, for the defraying of wartime expenses. Were the proprietors property owners like any other, or were they feudal lords or rulers whose demesne could not be taxed? The proprietors did, indeed, indicate a willingness to have their land taxed for purposes of defense, but they insisted that it should be done in a manner prescribed by them—a manner that would have been clearly privileged as compared with the status of other taxpayers.

Again, it was during this period that the place of the instructions from the proprietaries to the governor in the constitutional structure of the province came under scrutiny and discussion. The Assembly, while it demanded the right to see the governor's instructions on occasion, emphatically declared that they "are by no Means Laws in this Province."

Finally, when the Council suggested amendments to the proposed appropriations bill, the Assembly's restraint came to an abrupt and almost violent end, and on January 26, 1757, it presented to the governor a "remonstrance" that reviewed the issues between them: the manner of taxing the proprietors' lands, and, most fundamental of all, "our just Rights by the Royal and Provincial Charters, and the Laws of this Province as an English Representative Body," to frame a money bill without amendment, not contrary to the laws of England or to any royal instruction.

In this "remonstrance" the Assembly appealed over the heads of the proprietors and their governor to the King and accused the proprietors of intervening, by their opposition to the bill for the issuance of money for defense, between the province and the sovereign, and of behavior "injurious to the Interests of the Crown, and tyrannical with Regard to the People." While the governor had obligations to the proprietor, said the Assembly, its greatest responsibility was to the crown and to the people.

Franklin probably assisted in the writing of this document, if he did not write it in its entirety. In any case, two days later the Assembly formally resolved to ask Franklin and Isaac Norris to go to England to present its complaints to the

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proprietors in person (Norris declined). This document, and the thinking it represents, provided Franklin with the principal base for his negotiations with the proprietors.

Franklin arrived at Falmouth on July 17, 1757, and first saw Thomas Penn between August 13 and 16, 1757; on August 20 he presented to Penn the "Heads of Complaint" that was to serve as the basis for his negotiations with the proprietors. These "heads" centered about the conflict between proprietorial instructions and the charter right of the Assembly to give its "advice and Concent" to the governor in the making of laws, to pass money bills without amendment, and to impose taxes on all property, including that of the proprietors, for defense.

Throughout these controversies, with Franklin acting as the chief protagonist of the Assembly, certain profound constitutional issues were emerging in the 1750's in the relations between most of the colonies and the mother country, proprietary colonies and royal colonies alike. These issues are in essence the same as some of those which were to reappear in new forms and with new bitterness in the era of independence.

It was not merely as an agent for a malicious, power-hungry Assembly, therefore, that Franklin went to England in the summer of 1757. It was as an exponent of a colonial challenge to the current but ill-defined constitutional relationships between colonies and mother country, although Franklin himself may not have comprehended, as yet, the broader imperial significance of his mission. It may have been true, as Richard Peters warned Thomas Penn, that Franklin would have changed Pennsylvania from a proprietary colony into a royal province. But Franklin, despite the continental and imperial thinking already indicated, for example, by his participation in the Albany congress in 1754 and his correspondence with William Shirley in 1755, was apparently, at the time of his first mission to England, still thinking chiefly in terms of "his country"—Pennsylvania—and not of all the colonies—or "America"—as a whole.

Certainly, so far as Franklin personally was concerned, his voyage to England to present the complaint of the Pennsylvania Assembly to the proprietors was one of the epochal turning points of his life.

Meanwhile, "the many-sided Franklin" continued as he could his scientific, literary, and humanitarian activities. He found time to correspond on scientific subjects, often at considerable length, with Peter Collinson, John Lining, Giovanni Battista Beccaria, Cadwallader and David Colden, and others; he was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1756 and formally admitted at a meeting of the society in London on November 24, 1757; and he found time to prepare the tables and write essays on various scientific subjects for *Poor Richard*.

He continued to prepare *Poor Richard Improved,* including its literary content of poems and aphorisms culled from many sources, until the issue for 1758, which was his last. It was this number of *Poor Richard* that contained the famous compendium of aphorisms from the almanac that is known as "The Way to Wealth" or "Father Abraham's Speech."

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Franklin's gentle humanitarianism continues to show in his work for the Pennsylvania Hospital, in his interest in the Academy (although he had definitely broken with Provost William Smith and feared ruin for the Academy if Smith continued as its head), in his interest in education for Negroes, and even in his letters to Deborah ("my dear child"), to Jane Mecom, and to Elizabeth Hubbard.

The work of the editors, always superb, reaches a high point of excellence in the critical bibliographical essay which serves as an introductory note to "The Way to Wealth." This essay is a first-rate scholarly contribution in its own right; it also deserves special notice because it provides a salutary corrective to the twentieth-century myth of Franklin as exclusively the patron saint of chambers of commerce and savings and loan associations.

University of Washington MAX SAVELLE

THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON. Volume III, 3 MARCH 1781–31 DECEMBER 1781. Edited by *William T. Hutchinson* and *William M. E. Rachal.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. xxv, 381. $10.00.)

ANY reviewer of this volume short on time and not handicapped by a conscience will find all the makings of his review in the editors' admirably succinct and comprehensive introduction. For the reviewer with the notion that a book must first be read to be reviewed, there are certain compensations for his by no means inconsiderable pains. As one goes through the papers of this leader of Congress written in the nine months following the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, he is first struck by the really extraordinary reticence of the man, which in turn poses an intriguing and rather important question. Even in the twenty-two letters signed by Madison alone—all but two addressed either to Jefferson or to Edmund Pendleton—Madison drops no hint of the Virginian who presumably lived and breathed in Philadelphia; and, while the letters and papers demonstrate that the mind of the public man functioned with cogency and incisiveness, Madison, by almost never succumbing to the common temptation to speculate and generalize, betrays no political philosophy nor any ultimate objectives underlying his political actions. Surely these are the papers of a politican intent on holding things together in the face of threatened disaster, judging each political measure and expedient by its immediate and direct effect and with little thought to its deeper implications for a problematic future.

But are they? Was Madison in fact always the pragmatic politician who on occasion formulated and expounded political theories or principles only for the practical and specific purposes of the moment: to create a viable union of the states, to secure the ratification of the Constitution, to oppose Hamilton's political and economic program, to thwart the Federalists and secure the election of Jefferson? Or was Madison in 1781 the canny political theorist advocating policies and measures calculated not only to serve the moment but also, and more importantly, to nudge the country toward those nationalist goals he then discreetly

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pursued and would soon openly avow? The obvious answer that he was both and neither may be near the truth, but it does not take us very far unless we are sure precisely when he was the one and when the other. The case for Madison's strong nationalist bias in 1781 rests largely on his famous proposed "implied power" amendment to the Articles (March 12), but it can be argued that given the circumstance the amendment could well have been the work of an astute politician unencumbered by ideological preconceptions of any sort, and, as Donald Dewey notes in an unpublished paper, the advocates of the case for Madison's convinced nationalism in 1781 must come to terms with Madison's letter of November 18 to Jefferson.

The footnotes, though as praiseworthy, are less interesting than in the first two volumes. After constructing note after note correcting false rumors about the the southern campaign supplied to Madison by his regular Virginia correspondents, Joseph Jones and Pendleton, the editors must have greeted the news of victory at Yorktown with rejoicing, as I did.

College of William and Mary W. W. Abbot

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE CONSTITUTION. By *Clinton Rossiter*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1964. Pp. x, 372. $6.75.)

Professor Rossiter, like others who set out to treat a particular contribution of Hamilton, exemplifies the need to understand the whole man. This author took to the invitation with enthusiasm. While his emphasis and detail are what the title promises, he gives us a discerning, spirited portrait of "the many Hamiltons in one." And the swiftest strokes are informed with thorough study and zestful critical appreciation. We are told that in preparation of the volume the author underwent a change in his own view of Hamilton. It is one for which the reader is grateful, for it has nothing to do with bias. Rather it produced a frank avowal that in treating a man of passion one must be "historian-as-artist" along with "historian-as-scientist." The result is a work of feeling, rightly tempered by practiced judgment. The book matches Frederick Scott Oliver's essay of two generations ago for its imbuement in a romantic personality, ardent in the noble purpose of creating a nation.

Lest anyone suppose that the colors are chosen from a limited palette, let me record that Rossiter has diligently examined the documents, not merely with formal sufficiency, but with comprehensive care. In elaborate notes the reader may check him in every opinion, not to speak of discovering fresh evidence.

It is shown that Hamilton's service to the Constitution was in the decade before Philadelphia, in urging the imperative of a convention, and was even more in the decade that followed in making the Constitution a living instrument of national achievement. His performance at the convention itself is properly presented as comparatively minor. This was owing to his excess of candor and deficiency of judgment in his principal speech, his crippled position in the antination-

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alist New York delegation, and his long absences from the sessions, besides causes less readily defined. This chapter must have been a severe disappointment to Hamilton, but a failure from which he recovered with renewed resolve.

He found a framework not to his liking, but no overmatch to his will, first to get it ratified, and then to pluck from it powers of government that surprised his most hopeful colleagues. In effect, in his Treasury policies supported by bold opinions, and in his unremitting aid to Washington and covert management of much of Adams' administration, he was a one-man second constitutional convention. If his efforts at Philadelphia in 1787 went awry, he forthwith compensated in full measure by giving the Constitution marching orders. It is this epoch of action, enveloped in commanding argument, that Rossiter particularly celebrates in our constitutional history.

Hamilton knew that what economists of his day, and too persistently since, call wealth is not material goods but rather the capacity for social organization. This needed the selfish incentive of those who would profit, but vastly more it required energetic central government. Hence his molding of the Constitution, once we had it, was part and parcel of his aims. Was he principally economist or political scientist? Make the blend by calling him, in the older honored term, political economist or, more vaguely, statesman, it is still true that his forte was politics. In this I believe Rossiter agrees and has demonstrated, never in the narrow sense of private practitioner for which Hamilton had neither talents nor inclination, but as lawgiver in its estimable meaning.

This is not a study of the departed, unless we speak of the pregnant past. On every page Rossiter reveals Hamilton's gift for anticipation of the shape of things to come. Long lapses from his counsel intervened, but in our own time we see his forecast of competence and responsibility in national government realized and proliferated. The front page of every day's newspaper manifests the role that Congress, the White House, and the federal courts are expected—fearfully or hopefully—to play. Parties in power shift, but the current that bears them forward gains in strength. Poverty that used to be an individual misfortune becomes a national concern. The complexion of schools in a Virginia county must respond to national command. Integration in its immediate denotation is but a symptom of the integration in our national life, which Hamilton projected. Doubters will be instructed by Rossiter's impressive recital.

Hofstra University BROADUS MITCHELL

INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN JEFFERSON'S VIRGINIA, 1790–1830. By *Richard Beale Davis*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. x, 507. $8.75.)

IN this compendious work Mr. Davis endeavors to demolish the myth that the Virginians of Jefferson's day, in Henry Adams' words, "concentrated their thoughts almost exclusively upon politics." Ranging widely and efficiently over a terrain

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explored sector by sector before but only now mapped in its entirety, Davis offers an impressive "assemblage of evidence" that he believes adds up to "the broad outline of an image" of a rich and varied intellectual life in Jeffersonian Virginia. The period extends from 1788 to 1829, the Virginia conventions of these years standing as symbols of its rise and decline. The unity of this Virginia age is not clearly defined, but Jefferson is taken as its dominant figure, and it is characterized generally as sanguine, cosmopolitan, neoclassical, republican, and aristocratic, exemplifying the best qualities both of the Enlightenment and of the native tradition of gentle learning.

Each chapter is devoted to a major field of social and intellectual life: formal education, reading and libraries, religion, agricultural theory and practice, science, the fine arts, literature, law and oratory, politics and economics. Only the last chapter is familiar ground to the nonspecialist, and it might have been omitted but for the author's desire to present a rounded view of his subject and his conviction that the Virginians' intellectual distinction helps to explain their political leadership in the new nation. Not surprisingly, Davis, a professor of American literature well known for his Virginia studies, gives the most painstaking consideration to belles-lettres. His chapter on this subject runs nearly one-quarter the length of the book, and it offers an introduction unsurpassed anywhere to the literature of Virginia from the Revolution to the 1830's. On its merits this literature makes no strong claims, but it was more extensive than is generally appreciated, not inferior to what was produced in other parts of the country in the same period, and it furnished the prototype of the "Virginia novel" a full generation before Kennedy's *Swallow Barn,* as well as the native seedbed of Poe's poetry. The principal figures in all the fields of intellectual endeavor are at least familiar names to the historian. These are sure to be better appreciated for Davis' efforts, while many others are brought forcefully to view for the first time. The book, which includes a bibliography, is virtually an encyclopedia of its subject. As such, its distinction does not lie in any particular area but rather in its encompassing survey of the whole cultural configuration of Jeffersonian Virginia.

This is all very useful and instructive, but it is doubtful that Davis has exploded the myth. Indeed, he may only have run into the opposite myth, well established in Virginia historical lore, of a Jeffersonian "golden age." A tone of praise, even of advocacy, pervades the work, and the material calling for description is so overwhelming that the author makes only occasional perfunctory bows in the direction of critical analysis. Indeed, too, he may not have asked the right questions. For the question is not whether Virginians were thinking but whether they were thinking creatively and, so far as they were, whether their thoughts were taking root in Virginia society. Davis is aware of the problem; he records many blighted promises, notes the failure of any literary magazine to survive as long as two years, and reveals the ineradicable amateurism of Virginians' work in the arts and sciences, excepting agriculture. He quotes Francis Walker Gilmer's bitter lament: "O that I had only a fortune to pursue the bent of my own wishes with-

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out being condemned to the galley of the Common Law . . . as it is, we must satisfy ourselves with a little neighborhood reputation for good sense, a newspaper compliment for learning, & a tea table panegyric for wit." But instead of probing the sources and effects of this malaise, Davis emphasizes the great handicaps that the rural plantation society presented to intellectual production and marvels that the educated class accomplished as much as it did. He points to "vigorous poetic activity" and compares the results, while unremarkable, to the endeavors north of the Susquehanna. Yet the principal versifier, the lawyer-judge St. George Tucker, was little recognized even in Virginia; more importantly, though the achievement was yet to come, something was starting to life farther north, while in Virginia the ground was as barren at the end of the Jeffersonian age as it was at the start. Thus it was in most fields. The intellectual activity led nowhere, or only to distorted images of itself. The end was actually reached at least a decade before 1830. As Davis remarks, William Wirt knew "the glory of Virginia" was passing when he wrote his *Patrick Henry,* and that biography, published in 1817, is perhaps a better cultural symbol of the decline than the constitutional convention of 1829–1830, which placed a political punctuation point to it.

Students of Virginia history and intellectual history generally will be long indebted to this admirable work of scholarship, deservedly the first recipient of the annual award of the American Association for State and Local History. The book's faults are probably inseparable from its virtues. If one wishes that Davis had been less descriptive and more critical, one must also recognize that in laying out a broad field of investigation he has made a contribution of first importance in itself.

University of Virginia MERRILL D. PETERSON

STATUS AND KINSHIP IN THE HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE: STANDARDS OF SELECTION IN THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHN ADAMS, THOMAS JEFFERSON, AND ANDREW JACKSON. By *Sidney H. Aronson.* [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 274. $5.95.)

THIS book is a fruitful result of the cross-disciplinary approach to history which has been so long a-borning. Mr. Aronson, a sociologist with obvious competence in history, has applied the statistical techniques of his trade to the appointment policies of Adams, Jefferson, and Jackson in an effort to confirm or disprove the accepted generalization that Jefferson, and particularly Jackson, advanced the cause of democracy by making it progressively easier for the common man to hold political office. With an impressive array of statistical evidence Aronson finds the generalization to be, in the main, false. According to his figures, at least 90 per cent of all high appointments made by the three Presidents were from an elite of landed gentry, merchants, and professional men. Fewer than 20 per cent of

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appointees, even among this elite, were new to politics. Although only two-tenths of 1 per cent of all Americans during this period had college degrees, 63 per cent of Adams' appointees, 52 per cent of Jefferson's, and 52 per cent of Jackson's had attended or been graduated from college. Aronson's figures relating to kinship are equally impressive. He finds that 31 per cent of Adams' appointees, 22 per cent of Jefferson's, and 29 per cent of Jackson's were related to kinship groups that had previously held political office. All the evidence leads Aronson to conclude that "Jackson's attempt to democratize the elite fell far short of his goal."

He makes it clear, however, that there were many differences in the appointment policies of the three Presidents, and in one respect there was a significant trend toward democracy. Of Adams' appointees 70 per cent came from groups with an established elite background, while comparable figures for appointees of Jefferson and Jackson were 60 per cent and 53 per cent respectively. Thus nearly half of Jackson's appointees were self-made men.

Aronson's classification of elite groups and his criteria for membership are reasonably comprehensive and probably yield as valid results as historical material will permit. But in some instances numerically small samplings cast doubt upon the accuracy of his findings. Also, if he had investigated the holders of less important positions, he might have found a more democratic trend. In view of the work of William Miller with business groups and Bray Hammond with the bankers around Jackson, his conclusions are not surprising. In any democratic country with a free enterprise system, room at the top becomes occupied over a long period of time by those who have arrived by the help of special advantages of family, fortune, and connections not of their own making.

University of North Carolina ELISHA P. DOUGLASS

THE NEW EMPIRE: AN INTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN EXPANSION, 1860–1898. By *Walter LaFeber*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1963. Pp. xiii, 444. $5.95.)

IN this Beveridge Award-winning study, Walter LaFeber of Cornell University probes beneath the apparently quiet surface of late nineteenth-century American diplomacy, undisturbed by major wars and undistinguished by important statements of policy. He finds those who shaped American diplomacy believed expanding foreign markets were the cure for recurring depressions. They worked with diligence and skill to fashion a practical policy incorporating their ideal.

The link between America's industrial and diplomatic revolutions is forged in a long introductory chapter establishing the economic context of foreign policy, 1860 to 1889. Secretary of State William H. Seward envisioned the grand design of America's future commercial expansion undergirded by strategic bases for an efficient navy. Seward's idea was expansionism—a desire to promote trade and investment in foreign areas without, as colonialism prescribes, assuming political or economic responsibility for them. It derived little impetus from the ideal of

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manifest destiny arising from racial superiority or devoted to the "world duty" of establishing civilization where chaos reigned.

"Expansionism" was the child of economic necessity. Despite fantastic increases in farm and factory production, the nation suffered twelve years of depression in the quarter century before 1898. A broadly based national consensus in the 1890's saw foreign markets as the solution to the dilemma of poverty in the midst of plenty. Governmental efforts to realize this policy culminated, as this study shows in great detail, in the administrations of Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley.

These statesmen, demonstrating a grasp of the facts of international life not usually accorded them, selected foreign markets for America. To protect these markets they revolutionized the new navy, begun in 1883 as a defensive force of cruisers, by adding offensive battleships in the accelerated building programs of 1890 and 1893.

From his carefully documented and richly detailed study of the decade before 1898, LaFeber concludes that expansionism in 1898 was not, as some historians have called it, a brief and "hectic interlude." Rather it was the culmination of a generation of systematic planning and preparation to promote the economic interests of a nation rapidly shifting from an agricultural to an industrial base. Richard Olney was right in his prediction in 1900 that future historians would mistakenly call the events of 1898 the "turning point in American history." The change, Olney declared, was inevitable and had come earlier in the 1890's with the realization that "industrial and commercial development . . . must be furthered by free access to all markets. . . ."

In thoroughly documenting economic pressure on American foreign policy of the late nineteenth century, the author has illuminated a shadowy corner of the national experience and performed a significant scholarly service of wide implication both for his period of study and later diplomacy as well. The theory that America was thrust by events into a position of world power it never sought and was unprepared to discharge must now be re-examined. Also brought into question is the thesis that American policy makers have depended for direction on the uncertain compass of utopian idealism.

This book is based on the assumption that economic causes were the most important of the many forces driving America to world power. Within this framework LaFeber has written a provocative interpretation of a neglected period. Even those who disagree with his thesis cannot ignore it.

University of Georgia J. Chal Vinson

IN THE TREK OF THE IMMIGRANTS: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO CARL WITTKE. Edited by *O. Fritiof Ander.* [Augustana Library Publications, Number 31.] (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana College Library. 1964. Pp. xvi, 325. $5.95.)

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IMMIGRATION history is gaining renewed vitality, and it is appropriate that this *Festschrift* of varied content should be dedicated to one of the most versatile of the historians of immigration. Wittke's thirteen books and eighty-six articles are listed by Clarence H. Cramer, and Harvey Wish analyzes the chronological development of Wittke's writing with special attention to his concern with German immigration. The editor of the volume, O. Fritiof Ander, compares the methods of using source material employed by Wittke, George M. Stephenson, Theodore Blegen, and Marcus Lee Hansen. In this first group Carlton C. Qualey also brings to a new audience a discussion of the suggestive paper prepared by Frank Thistlethwaite for the Stockholm International Congress of Historical Sciences.

In the second group, eight worth-while articles treat different facets of European immigration to the United States. Edward P. Hutchinson traces the origin and quiet death of the idea that Europeans would degenerate when transplanted, summarizing the theories of Robert Knox and others, though his most relevant quotation comes from James Prichard: "Individuals and families, and even whole colonies, perish and disappear in climates for which they are, by peculiarity of constitution, not adapted." Charlotte Erickson deals with the "Agrarian Myths of English Immigrants," especially those of cheap lands and independence, leisure, and subsistence farming in America that would hold families together. This is a good corrective for some of America's own myths; it may, for example, surprise some that English immigrants of the early nineteenth century "adopted U. S. citizenship less frequently than immigrants from some other regions." John T. Flanagan enjoyed reading fiction and analyzing the types of Germans and German-Americans portrayed therein: "hard working, . . . persistent and intractable rather than intelligent," with much clannishness and devotion to the fatherland. In other articles Francis Weisenburger treats immigrant groups in Ohio, 1763–1863; Kenneth Bjork summarizes effectively his book on Norwegian engineers in America; Walter Forster analyzes the relation of immigration to changes in American society in the pre- and post-Civil War period; A. William Hoglund describes Finnish settlement on abandoned New York farms; and Oscar O. Winther illustrates "English Migration to the American West."

The "Backtrackers" are dealt with in Part III where Wilbur S. Shepperson points out how "America often failed to live up to her billing," and why many thousands of British working-class migrants returned home in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Theodore Saloutos further illumines this neglected reverse movement with statistical evidence dealing mainly with Southern Europeans.

In Part IV the psychological parallelism between Negro migration within the United States and European migration is asserted. In "The Negro in the Old Northwest" James H. Rodabaugh gives a historical-sociological survey of the massive immigration of the Negro to northern cities and of the long struggle for civil rights. Ernest Dowie closes the book with a sweeping, sensitive interpretation of the Negro's desire for heaven or for freedom, to cross over Jordan or to

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move north to Harlem, where he could find not the wide-open spaces of European dreams but at least the "chance to begin again."

Carl Wittke can not only write sound history, but he inspires others to do the same.

Northwestern University FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

THE GREEKS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Theodore Saloutos.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 445. $9.95.)

THEODORE Saloutos' excellent new book tells what happened to a proud people from an ancient land who began to settle in the United States in significant numbers some seventy-five years ago. Based on sources in this country and Greece, and on interviews, it contains much interesting information hitherto unavailable to those who cannot read Greek. And, written by a professional historian who grew up in a midwestern Greek-American community, it conveys an insider's feel for his subject tempered by an outsider's awareness of a larger perspective.

The organization is chronological. Saloutos opens with a chapter on "The Hellas of the Immigrant," goes on to consider the trickle of immigration during most of the nineteenth century, and then turns to the peasant migrations that began in the 1880's and reached major proportions between 1900 and 1910. The story of those rural newcomers, and of their American-born children, is the main facet of this book. The author carries it to the present, dividing it roughly into decades, and calls attention to the rejuvenation of Greek-American life by post-World War II immigrants.

Yet if the framework is chronological, the analysis is topical, as it should be. The author has raised and answered a host of important questions about how and why the immigrants settled in cities, earned a living, reared their children, founded communities, re-created their church, entered politics, coped with conflicting loyalties, responded to issues in the old country, and established their identity in a strange setting. There is a whole chapter about the second generation. Saloutos concludes that, after enduring the hardships of uprooting and transplanting and undergoing a long debate over the direction their lives should take, Greek-Americans are now enjoying "an era of respectability."

He has given us so much that it is ungracious to ask for more. Yet one puts down this book without quite knowing what it is like to live in a Greek-American community today in, say, Chicago or Boston. Perhaps this is a subject for still another kind of book concentrating on a single city. Further, the author briefly "suggests some striking parallels between their [Greek-American] problems of adjustment and those of the older and even pioneer groups." This is the only defensive note in an otherwise unself-conscious style. What is more to the point are the parallels, and the differences, between the Greek experience and the experience of other Southern and Eastern Europeans who arrived in America when the Greeks did. About this comparison Saloutos is silent.

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These criticisms notwithstanding, he has made a valuable contribution to the reconstruction of American immigration history that has been going on since the passage of the racist inspired Johnson-Reed Act of 1924. His book supersedes older accounts marred by snobbism, amateurism, or defensiveness. Affectionate but critical, compassionate yet detached, informed and readable, it should become the standard history of the Greeks in the United States.

Smith College ARTHUR MANN

A MONETARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1867–1960. By *Milton Friedman* and *Anna Jacobson Schwartz*. [National Bureau of Economic Research, Studies in Business Cycles, Number 12.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Bureau. 1963. Pp. xxiv, 860. $15.00.)

THIS is a carefully done and definitive history of United States money for the past century. The detail into which Drs. Friedman and Schwartz go makes much of the book slow reading, but of great and permanent value to scholars looking deeply into the economic, financial, or cyclical history of even minor parts of the years covered. In addition to 700 pages of text, there are 106 pages of detailed supplementary tables and explanations, 45 pages of index (invaluable for such a study), and a dissent on a major point by one of the National Bureau's directors. The American historian with little or no training in economics will profit greatly from reading the introduction, the summaries on pages 85–88, 183–188, 237–239, 296–298, 407–419, and the final summary. It is regrettable that the authors did not provide similar summaries for the later chapters to help the nonspecialist.

The central theme, in oversimplified form, is that the supply of money in circulation has a more profound effect on business cycles in particular and economic welfare in general than economists in recent years have generally supposed. During much of the nineteenth century many economists accepted a simplified version of the quantity theory of money. For example, double the supply of money, as during the Civil War, and a doubling of prices was to be expected, and it happened. The general public, especially farmers, early accepted this simple interpretation, which explains the appeal of Richard Bland's and William Jennings Bryan's silver programs. But already sophisticated economists were emphasizing that checking accounts were money just as much as bank notes. Soon after 1905 Irving Fisher and E. W. Kemmerer stressed the significance of velocity as a dimension of money supply, that is, how many times dollars changed hands in, say, a year. These refinements and still others made the simplified quantity theory seem naïve; they also seemed to justify increases of money and other manipulations which, nonetheless, still frightened the public. During the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's many economists came to believe that taxing and government spending policies (fiscal policy) were more important than monetary policy. The fact that the inflation prophesied in the 1930's was slower in coming and less than anticipated seemed to bear out the new view. All this is to stress that Friedman and

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Schwartz, although far from ignoring velocity and other refinements, again emphasize money supply primarily throughout their analysis of price trends and business cycles, 1867–1960.

They say: "The total we designate as money multiplied 157 fold in the course of these more than nine decades, or at the annual rate of 5.4 per cent. Since the population of the United States quintupled over the same period, the stock of money per capita multiplied 32 fold, or at the annual rate of 3.7 per cent." Roughly half of this 3.7 per cent annual monetary increase was needed to handle the greater output of a steadily more productive economy; a quarter of it is explained away by the fact that people carried more money in their pockets and bank accounts as they became more prosperous, and a quarter caused the price level to rise. The most important factor affecting the stock of money is what the authors call "high powered money," namely hand-to-hand money plus, after 1914, the legal reserves of member banks in Federal Reserve Banks. Gold inflows or outflows or changes in reserve requirements may work multiple effects on the stock of money. Since the monetary increases mentioned above do not take place evenly, year after year, the shifting rates of change go far to explain the appearance of business cycles, the severity of depressions, and the time it takes to recover from them. The authors prove an amazing correlation at times between stock of money and economic gyrations. But they are always at pains to explain cause and effect in detail and to admit perplexing instances. Repeatedly, a decline in money stock has foreshadowed a depression; also the failure to increase the money stock during a depression may prolong it. Yet they show convincing historical proof that rising prices do not stimulate economic growth. On the other hand, over time, depressions have apparently not unduly retarded economic growth since "a severe contraction [tends] to be followed by a vigorous rebound."

This new look at some ninety years of monetary history produces many conclusions at variance with accepted beliefs among American historians and economists. The authors' findings jolt both conservative and liberal articles of faith. The decade 1869–1879, for example, albeit encompassing a long and severe depression of 1873–1878, "was characterized by an extraordinarily rapid growth of output." The nature of the preparations in 1878 for specie resumption in 1879 "made resumption more difficult." Although not devotees of the gold coin standard, the authors admit that its quasi-automatic workings whose "discipline was impersonal and inescapable" gave the country before 1914 a smoother functioning economy "than did deliberate and conscious control exercised within institutional arrangements intended to promote monetary stability."

The large growth of output in the post-Civil War generation more than anything else accounted for the price decline. Falling velocity too was a factor, while a declining supply of money really was not, strident Populist complaints notwithstanding. "Prices . . . rose between 40 and 50 per cent from 1897 to 1914 no other peacetime period of equal or greater length has been characterized by a persistent upward trend in prices," although the period from 1948 may also do so. Sharp increases in gold production and deposit banking across the world,

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and here, in national bank notes plus declining velocities are the explanations.

By the 1920's the United States was the major economic power of the world; its poor handling of the 1920 and 1929 booms and panics caused them to be widely felt. The authors are admirers of Governor Benjamin Strong of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, who died in October 1928, and believe that, had he lived, he would have pursued policies that would have lessened the severity of the 1929 panic and of the contraction of the years following. They are sympathetic to Governor George Harrison of the New York Federal Reserve Bank in his long feud with the Federal Reserve Board (1928–1932), believing his vigorous yet sophisticated policies would have been more effective than the board's timid ones. Access to the Harrison letters, Charles Hamlin's diaries (the board's Samuel Pepys), and the E. A. Goldenweiser papers (later the board's economist) make their analysis of the high-level policy disputes of 1928–1932 the most readable portion of the book.

Friedman and Schwartz regret that the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was not created as early as 1930 and feel that despite low interest rates money was tighter in the 1930's than widely believed. Banks, seeking to build up reserves, scrutinized all loans closely. The 1937 economic collapse had numerous causes, but use of the new tool, doubling reserve requirements, was most important. It was too heavy an instrument for the occasion. All in all, the Federal Reserve System was not effective in the 1930's: the reasons were slow and timid action, generally, by a politically conscious board, armed with ample powers but short on experience, plus the growing belief that "money does not matter; fiscal policy is more important."

The tremendous increases in money stocks in World War II seemed to have less effect on prices during the war than afterward, supposedly because of price controls between early 1942 and mid-1946. Actually government rationing, pressures on consumers to buy less desirable qualities of goods, and resort to "black markets" were "equivalent to a price increase not recorded in the indexes." The jump in the price index after mid-1946 "reflected largely the unveiling of price increases that had occurred earlier." World War II was financed 48 per cent by explicit taxes, 31 per cent by interest bearing government securities, 7 per cent by direct government money creation, and 14 per cent as indirect effect of government money creation. Prices, notably stock prices, did not rise appreciably in 1948–1949 because people behaved cautiously, anticipating a depression as in 1920–1921. Finally, in about 1952 Federal Reserve policy makers again began to pay more attention to the stock of money as a barometer of future economic weather.

Since everyone is always affected by individual prices and by the price level, the study of money and prices is an important aspect of history. They affect economic, political, cultural, and even moral behavior. This is one of the most important books of our time.

University of Illinois DONALD L. KEMMERER

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A CONCERN ABOUT HUMANITY: NOTES ON REFORM, 1872–1912, AT THE NATIONAL AND KANSAS LEVELS OF THOUGHT. By *James C. Malin.* (Lawrence, Kan.: the Author. 1964. Pp. vi, 229. $3.00.)

THE historical profession is fortunate that James Malin interrupted labor on his "Grassland Historical Studies" to publish this slender volume about reform movements from the Civil War to World War I. With his unexcelled knowledge of Kansas as a microcosm of American history, Malin gives us new perspective on the current controversy over the nature of the Populist movement. As the subtitle indicates, this book is a selection of notes derived from his more extensive research. Thus the reader must be familiar with Malin's continuing research as well as the works of Hicks, Hofstadter, Woodward, Pollack, and Nugent in order to appreciate fully the many new insights of this book. Because of its nature, the book is difficult to summarize, yet certain conclusions relevant to the current dispute over Populism emerge clearly.

By placing the Populists in the context of Kansas party history, Malin demonstrates their lack of innovative ideas and organization. In 1890, the Prohibitionists were as radical in platform and candidates as the Populists, and Kansas Republicans and Democrats only slightly less so. The victory of the party is attributed to the disunity of the opposition, not to Populist appeal. Once in office, the "Pops" fought each other more than their political opponents or the "system." Spoils seemed more important than reform, and fusion was merely a coalition of hungry office seekers who held similar ideas anyway. The party died more from internal factionalism and boodle seeking than from the opposition's strength. After several years in office, the party had not evolved a viable political organization to conduct campaigns or to attract new blood. In fact, Malin emphasizes that young reformers chose the Republican party in the 1890's and subsequently promoted the reforms of the early 1900's. The Populists were old men fighting old battles, as the election of 1896 vividly proved.

Malin makes his other great contribution to the current controversy in the realm of ideology. By placing Populist thought in the stream of reform ideas in Kansas, he conclusively shows that the party gathered some of the older reformers with ideas copied from platforms advanced earlier by other reform parties, such as the Prohibitionists. Furthermore, in the 1890's these ideas were an unrealistic appraisal of national and world trends, and even of Kansas life. They failed to see the necessity of large-scale commercial farming on the Plains and favored the family farm ideal. As a result, they misunderstood the changing mortgage, banking, and price situation. They even failed to notice that railroad management, hence policy, of the 1890's had changed from the 1870's. The Populists believed that all producers should unite and looked to brotherhood with the Knights of Labor, which was declining as rapidly as the pertinence of the producer theory to reality. Populism was supported by more prosperous farmers who elected middle-class businessmen like Governor Lewelling, who, contrary to

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Pollack, neither favored nor understood Coxey's Army or the dispossessed in spite of his "Tramp Circular."

The reader leaves this book feeling the bankruptcy of ideas and methods in Kansas Populism. Populist politicians hindered reforms such as cooperatives by their search for offices and spoils. Malin feels that the farmers would have achieved more through pressure politics than through this party of spoilsmen. Any change that came from politics came from Republican young men. New ideas replaced outmoded Populist ones through changing newspaper technology with imported pages and plates describing new economic thought. From this book the reader learns that Populism was only a small part of a stream of "concern about humanity" and that the 1890's were a national, even world-wide, age of experimentation that the Populists little understood.

More than any previous writer, Malin raises the question of continuity in reform movements from 1872 to 1912. Does the common causation of industrialization generate common causes to deal with its problems? Are reform ideas continuous in evolution? Does the personnel carry through in training and organization? Are the reformers or changing industrialism more fundamental to societal innovation? We can only hope that his next work will answer the questions he raises in this one. If he accomplishes this task, the historical profession will be as indebted to him for clarifying this historical period as it now is for the pre-Civil War era.

University of Minnesota ROBERT F. BERKHOFER, JR.

WASHINGTON. Volume II, CAPITAL CITY, 1879–1950. By *Constance McLaughlin Green.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 558. $9.50.)

THE urban phenomenon that is Washington, D. C., finds meaty and penetrating exposition (even exposure) in this second installment of Constance Green's history of the nation's capital. She deals here with the period from 1879 to 1950, years in which the anomalies of "First City—Worst City" had their most extreme expression. The city of Green's prize-winning first volume was one that conformed substantially to the pattern of urban development prevailing elsewhere in the nation. From the turn of the 1880's, however, Washington increasingly exhibited the characteristics that make it an urban "sport."

Deprived of local self-government in 1878, the city was thereafter dependent for municipal management upon the decision of federal appointees and the will of Congress, a situation that not only fostered administrative frustration, but permitted the city's top businessmen, organized as the Board of Trade, to exert an even more than customary influence on community development. Government, real-estate promotion, and tourism, rather than commerce or industry, became the dominant elements in the city's economic base, with the result that national crises, such as war and depression, were more responsible than was an expanding

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economy for population growth. The presence of a capital officialdom at times added glitter to the urban culture and drew to Washington men of distinction, scientists especially, who contributed in a significant way to the city's intellectual tone. At the same time, the influence of "the Hill" as a dominant factor in the local scene tended to induce, particularly in the white population, a transience, both physical and psychological, that bred indifference to community problems. Relegated increasingly to the shadows, from the 1880's to the late 1940's, was Washington's populous colored community, a "secret city" characterized by class stratification, but, at least until the later 1940's, more and more segregated and submerged.

The author delineates these and other developments with a degree of detail that reflects her mastery of the voluminous body of official records and reports, newspaper and magazine articles, and personal interviews available for the study of the city in the post-Civil War era. Her close acquaintance and quite evident emotional identification with the community in more recent times contribute a sense of immediacy to her writing, but at some sacrifice of the literary style that distinguished her earlier volume. Her coverage of pertinent aspects of community development exhibits remarkable range; only rarely does she include material that belongs more properly to the national than to the local story—a temptation that urban historians too often are unable to avoid.

As in her earlier volume, she makes a major contribution in bringing into full and clear focus developments in the city's Negro community (primarily a story of deterioration in this period). This constitutes so pervasive a topic in the narrative as to call attention to the lack of a comparable exposition of the nature and problems of the city's "government-worker" ingredient, whose numbers were also sufficient to affect the community fabric in a presumably significant way. The story as a whole thins out with the 1940's. By the close of this decade Green sees a resolution of some of the city's problems: the promise of desegregation and the recapturing of a charm that Washington had lost at least a generation earlier. But these changes she does not explain as fully as she did the developments that she hopes they will correct. The best compensation for this shortcoming would be for her to write another predictably insightful and absorbing volume covering the Washington story since 1945.

New York University BAYRD STILL

DOUBTERS AND DISSENTERS: CATACLYSMIC THOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1885–1918. By *Frederic Cople Jaher.* ([New York:] Free Press of Glencoe. 1964. Pp. 275. $5.95.)

IT has long been recognized that the "gay nineties" is much of a misnomer. The period 1875–1914, on which this study concentrates, was one of vast social and economic change, during which the United States emerged as a major industrial and military power with a whole new set of pressing problems in domestic and

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foreign affairs. Some Americans thought that they could not be solved. Social critics looked at the times and saw cause for alarm in the mushrooming of cities, labor unrest and depression, the threat of foreign isms, the burgeoning of trusts, corrosive materialism and the threat of mass values, the decline of the old leadership elite, and so on. The reformers, surveying the times with optimistic realism, thought that while American society had admittedly great problems, it had the energy and the will to cope with them. Others saw little hope for the future; to them there seemed to be no way to control the downward sweep of American society toward disintegration and disaster.

It is with this last group that Professor Jaher of the City College of New York is concerned. His book is a study of those "cataclysmists" who came from segments of life that felt threatened by the course of events, or who felt irrelevant to society's needs and values, and of the times and trends that produced them. Ignatius Donnelly and Mary Ellen Lease were agrarian leaders of a farmer class that was rapidly losing its position in society. Brooks and Henry Adams represented the displaced Brahmins, already outdistanced by aggressive middle-class businessmen who were taking over economic leadership. Homer Lea, a handicapped and lonely militarist, worshipped force. Jack London, the alienated artist, did not fit into any society he could find above or below the middle, where he did not fit either.

The aim of Jaher's book is to show how these dispossessed, caught in the trap of their own pessimistic forebodings, turned to predictions of cataclysm and doom. None knew of any way to stem what they believed to be the impending tide of American self-destruction. Donnelly's novel *Caesar's Column* depicted the collapse of a twentieth-century civilization "grown to be a gorgeous shell . . . , inwardly full of dead men's bones and all uncleanliness." Henry Adams, who found "the whole system a fraud," turned back to the more compatible world of Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres; Brooks lost himself in contemplation of the slow decay of civilization. London, impressed by the "logic of events" that made men "competitive beasts," foresaw a war of worker and capitalist ending in "many Revolutions, all drowned in blood." Lea predicted a death struggle of races, ending in "the dismalest of twilights" for Anglo-Saxon civilization.

The stories of these "cataclysmic" critics of turn of the century America has been told before, but by treating them together as a movement in American intellectual history, the author is able to establish a position from which to take a fresh view of the period through their eyes. These critics of doom made pertinent observations about their society from a particular position and with an urgency of mood that no one else of their era possessed. What the progressives and reformers criticized from their angle of vision, the "cataclysmists" viewed from another, equally valid if less hopeful. Both involved and estranged, they saw the gap between reality and promise in American life as irremediably permanent, and because they held little hope for solutions, they could locate the problems of their age with unique clarity and detachment. Jaher's sound and lively interpretations

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of this period from their point of view enhance an aspect of American social criticism never before examined in this way.

Michigan State University RUSSEL B. NYE

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1896. By *Stanley L. Jones.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. x, 436. $7.50.)

JONES begins with an account of the shattering impact that the silver issue had upon both major and minor political parties and of the division it caused among economists, classes, and sections during the heartbreaking nineties. He also skillfully traces the genesis and gradual political involvement of the nonpartisan silver organizations. He then deals with the widening of the split in the Democratic party during the depression wracked second Cleveland administration; the mobilization of southern and western silver Democrats to win party control from the gold men of the East; the "outflanking" of the Populists by the Democratic acceptance of silver as the paramount issue; and the split in the Republican party that led to the bolt by Teller and the distasteful swallowing by McKinley of the word "gold."

Five chapters are devoted to the way in which McKinley entered the field early and succeeded in routing "the bosses" and winning the nomination at St. Louis; four to the Democratic primaries and the nomination of Bryan at Chicago; two to the impact of the battle over the currency upon third parties, especially upon the Populists; and one to the creation of the National (gold) Democratic party. No other study contains such a full account of the infighting that occurred in all these parties. Three successive chapters deal with the campaign of 1896 itself, the results of which are evaluated in the last chapter.

While Jones provides short biographies of the major contenders, McKinley and Bryan, and adequate silhouettes of lesser politicos, such as J. B. Foraker, J. B. Weaver, H. D. Lloyd, and Tom Watson, he has furnished a biography of a campaign and of an issue rather than of personalities. The book lacks either a hero or a coward, an angel or a devil, although the author is very kind to both McKinley and Hanna. The study goes deeper than H. Wayne Morgan's most readable *William McKinley and His America* into the Republican attitude toward the silver issue, not as deeply into the gold Democrats as J. Rogers Hollingsworth's *Whirligig of Politics,* or as deeply into the silver Republicans as Elmer Ellis' *Henry Moore Teller,* and covers the same ground and reaches generally similar conclusions as Paul W. Glad's much shorter *McKinley, Bryan, and the People.*

Jones concludes that McKinley was much superior to Bryan in creating an organization and in handling the issues of the campaign of 1896. Although this conclusion is not novel, it is buttressed by very extensive research, especially into newspapers, personal papers, and unpublished theses and dissertations. Despite frequent references to the "lavish" use of the funds Hanna collected, Jones does

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not believe Hanna dishonest. That may well be, but a more detailed study is still needed to ascertain whether Bryan was counted out.

Jones proceeds chronologically, with the result that some redundancy marks the introductory transitional paragraphs of later chapters. The writing is clear, but flavored with a Mahanlike heaviness caused by the inserting of many dependent clauses into numerous sentences. A few paragraphs lack coherence and unity, and occasionally, perhaps as a literary device, conclusions are stated before supporting evidence is provided. There are an excellent bibliography and index, but one must turn to the back of the book 1,106 times for the footnotes, which might better have been placed on the page.

Jones is extremely knowledgeable of the twistings and turnings of party politics in the 1890's and is sound in his conclusion that Bryan lost the election because he failed to win the urban labor vote. Although he recognizes that Bryan subordinated a plethora of other reform demands to the paramount issue of free silver and suggests that McKinley's party faced the twentieth rather than the nineteenth century, as Bryan's did, he might have looked forward and noted that the history of the "square deal," New Freedom, and New Deal is based upon the progressive demands of Bryan liberals rather than upon McKinley "standpattism." His exhaustive research and policy of thoroughness have, nevertheless, provided a definitive, well-balanced, impersonal, nonpartisan, and extremely welcome account of one of the most dramatic and important campaigns in American history.

United States Naval Academy PAOLO E. COLETTA

THE TRIUMPH OF CONSERVATISM: A REINTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY, 1900–1916. By *Gabriel Kolko*. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe. 1963. Pp. 344. $7.50.)

IT is the contention of this volume that during the progressive era, 1900–1916, business wanted the national government to use federal power for business welfare. It preferred national regulation because regulation by the states was not uniform and was susceptible to pressures from popular or dangerous interests. It preferred regulation to laissez faire, for businessmen had largely failed to solve the problem of business instability and of ruinous competition, to anticipate precisely what such statutes as the Sherman Act meant, and to secure a banking system that was relatively free from panic and able to meet flexibly the needs of commerce. What business wanted were federal charters, the chance to find out in advance what actions were legal or illegal, a centralized banking system better than that of the national banks, and occasionally even governmental price fixing. Business not only desired but designed the details of this program of "political capitalism"; in general business secured its adoption. Since he has dealt elsewhere with railroad regulation, Dr. Kolko here focuses on the history of the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Reserve System, and

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the political administrations under which they were passed. It is a measure of the freshness of his approach that the stale issue of the tariff is largely ignored. While an elaborate and explicit explanation is lacking as to why business—here equated with "conservatism"—triumphed, the implication is that there was a widespread popular consensus favoring political capitalism and that an "Establishment" representing this view proceeded to carry it to success. Kolko skillfully uses extensive documentation from private and public papers to buttress his case.

The book is interesting, but it is neither well written nor entirely convincing. Its literary strategy is marred by too much strut and swagger. Kolko is entitled, of course, to the comfort of his own certainties; he would have been more persuasive if he had not found it necessary to attack the previous failures of "historians" to interpret this period correctly. While the failures are sometimes specified, footnotes usually give no clue to the delinquents or the whereabouts of their fallacies. In my estimation a multitude of historians has known and asserted for many years that Roosevelt and Wilson were conservatives and their policies far from hostile to business. The roster of these historians is longer than the author acknowledges.

Thetford, Vermont EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

PRAIRIE REBEL: THE PUBLIC LIFE OF WILLIAM LEMKE. By *Edward C. Blackorby*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 339. $6.50.)

WILLIAM Lemke represented one of the last old-fashioned prairie rebels who, standing coatless and with galluses holding up baggy trousers, could arouse farmers to action against monopolies and the money trust on almost any Main Street in North Dakota. While he remained a popular agrarian leader until his death in 1950, Lemke actually saw America pass him by without fully comprehending the tides that had changed the nation and reduced the power and influence of his kind. We are indebted to Professor Blackorby for writing a detailed and judicious account of this twentieth-century farm spokesman. In the future anyone studying the Nonpartisan League, North Dakota political history, or twentieth-century farm movements will have to consult this book.

The son of a pioneer North Dakota farmer, Lemke attended the University of North Dakota and the Yale Law School. In 1905 he settled down to practice law in Fargo. Lemke entered the farm movement as an attorney for the Equity Cooperative Exchange and joined the Nonpartisan League in 1916. Almost at once he became a kind of one-man brain trust for Lynn Frazier and other league leaders. His influence was based on his devotion to league objectives, his skill and ability as a lawyer, and his popularity among farmers. Elected attorney general in 1920, he was recalled along with other league officials in 1921. During the late 1920's he developed his bankruptcy and monetary ideas, part of which he pushed through Congress after his election to the House of Representatives in 1932. He became a bitter opponent of F. D. Roosevelt and permitted an unholy alliance of political extremists to run him for President on the Union party ticket

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in 1936. Lemke did not agree with the racist and religious views of most of his supporters, and his leadership of the Union party hurt his reputation. He continued to be popular in North Dakota, however, and served in Congress until his death, except for the term 1941–1943. Lemke's isolationist views are mentioned, but the author spends relatively little space on the question of isolationism.

Blackorby pictures Lemke as an uncompromising and sometimes extremist leader, but a man who was devoted to what he considered the best interests of agriculture. Basically sympathetic with Lemke, the author does not hesitate to point out his mistakes and shortcomings. This biography is based on excellent sources, including the Lemke Papers, which Blackorby has used judiciously. The research, however, is superior to the presentation. In several places the author gets so involved in the details of political campaigns and manipulations that it is hard for the reader to bring the strands into clear focus. In other spots the book is repetitious. Finally, Blackorby never quite captures the drama and excitement of Lemke and his associates, an unusually colorful crowd. The biography is a solid and workmanlike job. Though it never really comes to life, it is a fine contribution.

University of Oklahoma GILBERT C. FITE

CORDELL HULL, 1933–44. In two volumes. By *Julius W. Pratt.* [The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy, Volumes XII and XIII.] (New York: Cooper Square Publishers. 1964. Pp. xvi, 448; vi, 449–840. $15.00 the set.)

THIS two-volume account of the official career of Cordell Hull, Secretary of State from 1933 to 1944, is praiseworthy. The presentation of the multitude of subjects and situations that engaged Hull's attention is well organized; it follows their actual course smoothly and keeps them in meaningful relationship. The essential and important questions are distinguished from the minor and transient ones. The use of detail is careful and thorough, and the weighing of the evidence on controversial policies and obscure issues is fair and penetrating.

The author's admiration and affection for Hull radiates the narrative without distorting his judgment or subduing his critical acumen. The significance of the decisions recounted and policies explained is made clear by their placement in a broad setting of historical development and circumstance. The observations on the nature and spirit of Hull—the person in office—and on his relations with President Roosevelt and his associates in the government are discerning.

Despite such impressive merits, this study is plodding rather than absorbing. In some measure it had to be so because of the conscientious amassing of detail. But in greater measure it is because the narration is monotonous in tone and tenor. The excitement that at the time marked the more critical and consequential decisions fades in the even flow of plain fact. The pages do not stirringly convey the tension and vibrancy of the great events that they relate.

In a book as replete with details as this, every reader is likely to think some

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statements either inaccurate or incorrect. But in this meticulous study very few will be found, I think. On one, however, I take the liberty of commenting since it pertains to a passage in my book *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin*. In telling of the correspondence between Churchill and Stalin in June 1943, I wrote "regrettably efforts to locate copies of the unpublished text of these later messages came to nought." In a footnote in Chapter XVIII Pratt cites this sentence as authority for the statement "that most of the acrimonious Stalin-Churchill correspondence . . . has disappeared." I did not mean to give the impression that it had been lost or destroyed, but merely that I had not been able to locate these messages in the sources to which I had access. But they were printed subsequently in the two volumes of Stalin's correspondence with Churchill and Roosevelt, published by the Soviet government (*Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidents of the U.S.A. and Prime Ministers of Great Britain during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945,* Messages No. 163, 165, and 167). The author does not cite these volumes and may not have consulted them in his otherwise well-balanced chapter on American-Soviet relations. Had he done so his treatment of the controversy caused by the insistence of the Soviet government that it should and must embrace primary influence in Southeastern Europe might have been slightly different. For they indicate that Stalin firmly maintained, and presumably genuinely believed, the Soviet government was pursuing in this area a course equivalent to that which the Western Allies followed in their control of Italian affairs, despite Soviet complaints and objections.

Every reader is also apt to differ from some of the book's many interpretations and judgments. The one that seems to me most questionable is the appraisal of the effort to plan in advance for the postwar world. The impression left is that the Advisory Committee on Postwar Policies, of which Hull was nominal chairman, to which this task was assigned, performed it well. This is because the author singles out its sole useful contribution—that made to the preliminary thinking of the form and nature of the United Nations. But, and this I can attest from personal participation, the committee was in all other ways ineffectual because of poor direction and its conglomerate membership.

As Secretary of State, Hull was often indecisive and appalled rather than invigorated by the intense pressure of the clashing forces and personalities confronting him. His anguished exhortations were not effective in averting the war, and his failing health and strength were unequal to the task of preparing the way to satisfactory peace settlements (nor was anyone else able to do so). He will be justly honored, however, for his noble purposes and his devoted efforts to persuade all countries to live by those principles of conduct which he was convinced were essential for peace and prosperity. Time is likely to endow these endeavors with lasting and ever more meaningful importance.

York, Maine HERBERT FEIS

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UPPER CANADA: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1784–1841. By *Gerald M. Craig*. [The Canadian Centenary Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 315. $8.00.)

THIS is the first to appear of the projected seventeen-volume "Canadian Centenary Series" which is intended to celebrate the centenary of Canadian Confederation with a comprehensive history of Canada embodying recent research. The editors, W. L. Morton and D. G. Creighton, state the theme as "the development of these regional communities which have for the past century made up the Canadian nation," but each volume will have the distinctive character of individual authorship. The objective is to produce a series that will be both scholarly and readable, useful to the student and interesting to the general reader.

Comparisons will inevitably be made between this series and the earlier large-scale cooperative history of Canada edited by Adam Shortt and A. S. Doughty almost half a century ago. With this volume as an augury, it seems safe to conclude that such comparisons will manifest the great distance that Canadian historical scholarship has traveled in the past fifty years. Professor Craig's treatment of the history of Upper Canada is a work of sophisticated scholarship. He effectively integrates the elements that shaped the character of that part of Canada which became the province of Ontario in 1867: the coming of the loyalists, settlement and land policy, and the struggles over the privileged positions of the family compact and the Anglican Church. Craig is at his best in his description of the period from the arrival of Sir Peregrine Maitland to the rebellion of 1837. His account of the mounting frustrations that culminated in Mackenzie's resort to arms is an excellent synthesis of scholarship on the period, but it is more than that, for he makes his own distinctive contribution. Not every reader will agree with Craig's assessments of the leading characters. Maitland, for example, comes off somewhat better than he has at the hands of some previous writers, and Mackenzie a bit worse. Strachan, Mackenzie, and Gourlay he describes as "fiery Scots who did much to enliven the history of Upper Canada but without doing much to advance the solution of its problems along useful and constructive lines." It might be argued that the "constructive" reformers made progress in part as a result of the "destructive" contributions of the extremists. But whether one agrees or disagrees with Craig's judgments, one must be impressed with his scholarship. His style is clear, though somewhat lacking in sparkle, and it is doubtful that the book will attract many "general readers." With that minor reservation, I believe that the book fulfills the specifications of the general editors. The "Centenary Series" is off to a good start.

University of California, Los Angeles JOHN S. GALBRAITH

LAND AND SOCIETY IN COLONIAL MEXICO: THE GREAT HACIENDA. By *François Chevalier*. Translated by *Alvin Eustis*. Edited, with

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a foreword, by *Lesley Byrd Simpson.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 334. $8.50.)

LAND systems of Mexico have long been a popular subject of inquiry among Latin Americanists. Yet the complete story of the highly complex development of this fundamental facet of Mexican culture is still to be done. Chevalier's admirable analysis of the genesis and growth of the hacienda, or great landed estate, in New Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries perhaps comes nearest to the ideal treatment of at least one part of Mexican land tenure history.

This study was first published in 1952 by the Institute of Ethnology, University of Paris, under the title, *La formation des grands domaines au Mexique: Terre et société aux* XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} *siècles.* Although the English translation is reasonably faithful to the original in both content and Gallic clarity, the work has been shortened by the deletion here and there of sentences and even entire paragraphs; more regrettable have been the drastic reduction of the bibliography and the omission of the voluminous footnotes and citations that give the original a mark of scholarship. Consequently the serious student must still refer to the French version. The University of California Press has, nonetheless, done a signal service by translating this basic and scholarly book for the general reader.

In perusing the French original, one sees that Chevalier researched intensively for raw data in the archives of Mexico and Spain. From these sources and from contemporary chronicles, he has assembled not only his analysis of the hacienda, but also gives the reader a vivid account of Spanish colonial economy in New Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

According to Chevalier, the hacienda and the landed aristocracy of Mexico evolved slowly during the sixteenth century, reaching maturity at the end of the seventeenth. In central Mexico, Spaniards, through official grants, first obtained title to relatively small holdings around newly founded Spanish towns. On such land wheat and other Mediterranean crops were cultivated and animals grazed. Soon the more ambitious landowners began to enlarge their initial holdings by purchasing contiguous plots from other Spanish grantees and Indian nobles. Although the crown considered Indian village lands inalienable, after 1535 viceroys were empowered to grant unoccupied or abandoned lands outside the towns to Spanish applicants. Thus by the mid-sixteenth century sizable holdings already existed in central and southern Mexico.

It was in the semiarid grasslands and deserts of northern Mexico, however, that the hacienda, based chiefly on stock raising, was best developed. During the last half of the sixteenth century the opening of rich silver deposits from Zacatecas and Guanajuato to Chihuahua encouraged stock raising, for the mines consumed large quantities of hides, tallow, and meat. Early grants (*estancias*), areas of many square miles, were made to individual stockmen, but following Old World Spanish tradition, these grants implied only grazing rights. Not until the seventeenth century, when mining had temporarily declined and stock raising had become

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the basic economy of New Spain, did cattlemen and miners obtain title deeds to grazing lands. After 1591 these titles could be confirmed by paying the royal treasury a fee, whereupon the *estancias* legally became entailed estates. Unchecked by the crown, the growth of the large estates during the colonial period was limited only by the missionary orders through their own large holdings and their protection of Indian village lands.

Chevalier emphasizes the problem of labor supply on the large estates. After the decline of the *repartimiento* system at the end of the sixteenth century free labor was used in mines and haciendas. To hold the Indian workers on his estate the *hacendado* pressed upon them loans that they could never repay, bringing into being the debt peonage system, an institution well established by the close of the seventeenth century. By that time the Mexican haciendas had become semi-independent economic units, the aggrandizement of which the Spaniards pursued for social prestige. Land and lots of it, regardless of its economic utility, became the mark of Mexican aristocracy and remained so until well after the agrarian revolution of 1910.

Louisiana State University ROBERT C. WEST

HISTORIOGRAFÍA DEL BRASIL, SIGLO XVII. By *José Honório Rodrigues.* Translated from the Portuguese by *A. Alatorre.* [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Publication Number 264, Comisión de Historia, Number 93; Historiografías, Volume VI.] (México, D. F.: the Instituto. 1963. Pp. 261.)

THIS is the second volume on colonial Brazil prepared for this series by Dr. Rodrigues, head of Brazil's National Archives and his country's leading historiographer (see the review of Volume I, *AHR,* LXIII [Jan. 1958], 537). Rodrigues divides the historical literature of the seventeenth century into five categories depending upon emphasis: the founding of the state of Maranhão, the Dutch occupation of the northeast, the saga of the *bandeirante* raiders and explorers, the activities of the missionaries, and miscellaneous accounts of a more general character. As in his previous volume, the author has meticulously assembled from printed and unpublished sources pertinent information concerning each author's background; the circumstances surrounding the document's preparation and the publication of first and important later editions; the nature of its contents; and critical appraisals by contemporaries and by modern authorities.

As the author points out, "the dominant feature of [the] historiography of [this period] is its episodic character." With the exception of the well-known chronicle of Frei Vicente do Salvador (whose plagiarism of Gabriel Soares de Sousa is curiously unmentioned here), there are no general contemporary accounts of seventeenth-century Brazil, and even the Franciscan's work runs only to 1627. While published sources are relatively abundant for the study of military, political, and religious themes, there is very little concerning the cultural, economic, or

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social aspects of the period. This essay implicitly reveals the perils of attempting to write the history of Brazil for this or any other colonial century exclusively from printed materials.

This volume is nearly three times as long as the author's study of sixteenth-century historiography. Admittedly there is much more material to discuss, particularly on the Dutch period where Rodrigues' knowledge of the sources is unexcelled; even so, the book's organization could have been improved by inverting the location of the last section, by reducing the space allotted to the rather unimportant literature concerning the *bandeirantes,* and by adding some final summary observations.

It is a pity that six years elapsed between the completion of the original manuscript and its initial appearance in the form of a Spanish translation. One may hope that the author's plan to write a companion volume on the eighteenth century (an even more formidable task) and another summing up the main trends of the historiography of colonial Brazil will be realized and that the results will appear more promptly, for we badly need such volumes both for specialists and for training graduate students, and no one is better equipped to write them than Rodrigues.

University of Washington DAURIL ALDEN

ARGENTINA: A CITY AND A NATION. By *James R. Scobie.* [Latin American Histories.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 294. Cloth $6.50, paper $2.25.)

PROFESSOR James R. Scobie of Indiana University has undertaken to edit a series of eight volumes on the histories of all the major nations and areas of Latin America. ("The Caribbean" and "Central America" will be the two regional volumes; the others will deal with Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Venezuela, Mexico, and Peru and Bolivia.) He has written the present book as the first in a series that is well planned to fill a critical need for reliable general histories of these nations. It is intended that the books emphasize social, economic, and cultural, rather than political history.

Scobie's *Argentina* has set a high standard for his fellow authors. His work is perceptive, accurate, and superbly organized, precisely along the lines that the series soundly intends to pursue. Its principal virtue is the skillful manner in which the author has interlocked economic and social developments with a subordinated political narrative, subordination made possible in part by the extensive political chronology that follows the text.

The narrative ranges over the colonial period (in this chapter Scobie focuses on the Spanish interior towns that dominated the vast area of the Río de la Plata long before Buenos Aires or the other coastal settlements were of any importance), describes the rural economy of Buenos Aires and its transformation by an agricultural revolution into one of the richest areas producing cereals, meat, and

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wool that the world has known, analyzes "the two worlds" of Argentina, the first, the city-province of Buenos Aires, which has reached the stage of ascent, and the other world of the interior, which is still grossly underdeveloped, and concludes with a chapter on contemporary Argentina.

The book is strong where most histories of Argentina are weak, in its description of the rural sector of the economy and society during both the colonial and national periods. This is not to say that the author has neglected the Goliath's head that is the city of Buenos Aires; he analyzes with equal competence the historical growth and present characteristics of this megalopolis of more than six million people. Throughout, Scobie is master of his chronological pattern, moving easily in each chapter across many eras, yet retaining the unity of his subject.

This is not a book to approach for analysis of the last two decades of Argentine history. Perón appears on page 219, in a text of 237 pages. But the pre-Perón story is so fully and well told that Scobie's account must be reckoned the best available on the earlier history of Argentina. The maps, tables, bibliography, and typography are excellent.

University of Texas THOMAS F. MCGANN

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

BOOKS

General

HISTORY AS ART AND AS SCIENCE: TWIN VISTAS ON THE PAST. By *H. Stuart Hughes.* [World Perspectives, Volume XXXII.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. xix, 107. $3.95.) For Stuart Hughes history has become primarily a variety of cultural anthropology, and for him the historian might well fill the now vacant (in universities) chair of speculative social thought. Hughes himself works on the frontiers of social thought. He believes that the study of history is experiencing change as rapid as that which has been happening in physics. In his interpretation of historical study he is close to Bloch, Carr, and Marrou. In five short essays (two previously published) he here discusses potentialities and limitations of historical knowledge, the historian's restricted understanding of psychophysical phenomena, the uses of psychoanalysis in history, how narrative may be enriched by analysis, and the arguments for the usefulness of contemporary history. As he reflects, he restates in new fashion many old ideas, ideas at least as old of those of Vico, Dilthey, and Croce. His "major polemical purpose" is to "stimulate the release of historical study from its bondage to libraries." He advocates "full psychoanalysis" for a few Ph.D. candidates. I can follow Hughes a considerable distance, but at times I hesitate. I am not so certain of the value of psychoanalysis for beginning historians. I doubt whether the "historian's conventional assumption that there is such a thing as a document . . . breaks down," though I would agree that documents do not in themselves constitute history. In spite of the success of Thucydides (or to use another example, Churchill), I am not willing to grant that the study of contemporary history can be as meaningful as Hughes believes. But profit and excitement emerge from argument with Hughes's fertile suggestions. It is good to see a historian venturing to assert that the historian is "uniquely equipped to lead others" to interpretive insights and "thereby to illuminate the era in which we live." Hughes, then, thinks of history as more science than art, but he argues artistically for the science.

Macalester College BOYD C. SHAFER

LITERARY VIEWS: CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By *Harry Levin et al.* Edited by *Carroll Camden.* [Rice University Semicentennial Publications.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for William Marsh Rice University. 1964. Pp. xiii, 193. $5.00.) The obvious reason for reviewing this book in this journal is the question: what has it to say about literary history and historical criticism? The unconvincing preface by Mr. Camden, the generalizations of Messrs. Levin, Barker, and Frye, and the concluding remarks of Mr. Wellek about Mr. Leavis may therefore be passed over quickly. The remaining essays, both individually and collectively, have much of importance to say on this question, but more by example than by precept. Starting with Mr. Thorp's delightfully light but penetrating review of the progress of American literary criticism from the "appreciators" to the "new" critics, his emphasis on Freud and Jung in disciplining American critical thought is given depth and challenge by

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Mr. Trilling's study of the pleasure principle from Keats to the moderns. With the outlines of the history of critical theory in twentieth-century America thus established, the more solid and conventional treatments by Mr. Bowers of Shakespeare's plays as drama, by Mr. Pottle of Boswell as a literary man in his own right, by Mr. Wright of literature on the American frontier, and by Mr. Miller of the sources of New England transcendentalism (one of his best and perhaps his last historical essay) tend to restore faith in the historical discipline and in the possibility of its application to literary data. Whatever new schools of critical interpretation may even yet develop, the historical critic is still dependent on the precise definition of terms, the identification of the historical event, the belief in process, and the support of documentary evidence. The less novel essays offer the most convincing new insights and conclusions to be found in this volume.

University of Pennsylvania ROBERT E. SPILLER

ROM UND DIE PATRIARCHATE DES OSTENS. By *Wilhelm de Vries*. [Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen, Volume III, Part 4.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1963. Pp. viii, 452. DM 39.80.) The purpose and the scope of this book are described in the introduction. The author did not intend to write a history of the Union of the Eastern Patriarchates with Rome; his concern was mainly theological and canonical. The whole project is closely related to the preparatory work for the current Ecumenical Council at the Vatican. The urgency of the task imposed heavy limitations on the compass of the study. The basic problem was: to what extent an "Eastern Church," as a specific and distinctive formation in its own right, is possible within the "Universal Church," that is, in fact, within the overarching jurisdiction of Rome? It was rightly assumed that answer to this query could be given only by a historical study and survey of the relationship between the Church in the West and the Eastern churches. In what sense is an "Autonomy" of local or regional churches possible and permissible in the "One Church"? Does "Unity" require necessarily complete "Uniformity" on various levels of ecclesiastical existence: in theology, rites, discipline? Ultimately, in what manner can "Unity" and "Autonomy," "uniformity" and "diversity," be correlated and reconciled? The book is divided into two parts. The first is a factual survey. There is a brief chapter on the relations between Rome and the East in the first millennium of Church history. It does not seem to be adequate, but it was hardly possible to do more in the few pages allotted for the topic. The process of the formation of the "Patriarchates" in the East is not sufficiently analyzed, and its dependence upon the general structure of the Christian commonwealth, or Christian society, is not shown. In the following chapters various attempts to recover, or to enforce, unity between the East and Rome are discussed. There is a lack of proportion in the structure of this section, and the author himself stresses it. Adequate attention is given only to the ancient patriarchates in the Near and Middle East, on the one hand, and to the Uniat Churches in Croatia, Carpathian Russia, and Rumania (Transilvania). These chapters are well documented and are of real value. But it proved impossible to include in the book an adequate treatment of the Union of Brest, in Poland, and this omission considerably distorts the perspective, which the author realizes. The exposition is, on the whole, fair and impartial. Political factors in the union movements are duly acknowledged. They were indeed conspicuous in the old Austrian Empire, and probably even more so in Poland. The second part of the book is undoubtedly the most important and valuable. It gives a comprehensive analysis of Rome's attitude to the "Peculiarity" of the East. This attitude was not the same in the course of centuries, and its variations did not depend solely upon ecclesiastical or ecclesiological considerations. Two chapters in this section are of special interest: on the "spiritual Latinisation" of the East and on the attitude of Rome to the "separated," that

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is "Orthodox," churches of the East. The author disavows the tendency toward Westernization, or Latinization, of the Eastern Church and regards it as one of the major impediments of unity or union. A useful bibliography is appended to the book.
Harvard Divinity School GEORGES FLOROVSKY

MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE EN HOMMAGE AU PROFESSEUR ANTONY BABEL À L'OCCASION DE SON SOIXANTE-QUINZIÈME ANNIVERSAIRE. In two volumes. (Geneva: [Imprimerie de la Tribune de Genève.] 1963. Pp. xxvii, 398; 717. 85 fr. S. the set.) These handsomely printed volumes of *Festschriften* contain essays from fifty-four contributors grouped under the rubrics, "Antiquité," "Moyen Âge et Renaissance," "XVII[e] siècle," "XVIII[e] siècle," "XIX[e] et XX[e] siècles," and "Méthodes et problèmes des sciences économiques et sociales." What is offered is a miscellany that ranges in the chronological sections from a reconstruction of city life in ancient Egypt to an account of a study group of young intellectuals in the SFIO during the 1930's. Contributors come from many disciplines as well as the several fields of history, but as is appropriate to Professor Babel's own interests, roughly three-quarters of the essays are concerned with economic history, with the larger part of these treating Swiss topics, particularly of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. All aspects of economic history from the quantitative to the history of theory are represented, with emphasis on regional, demographic, and entrepreneurial studies. To single out essays for separate comment from such a large and on the whole distinguished collection can become a question of their general interest or a matter of the reader's choice. This said, attention may be called to Amintore Fanfani on economic life as described in the *Iliad,* Pierre Chaunu on seventeenth-century trade cycles, and Robert Kingdon's account of an Antwerp publishing firm during the Revolt of the Netherlands. Fanfani's contribution is a brilliant evocation. Chaunu's essay, although its intent is modest, is an important addition to the critical literature on trade cycles. Kingdon's contribution opens avenues for important research and suggests that the last word on the relations between capitalism and religion has not been said. Three essays, "Le Zollverein et le Marché commun européen" by Wilhelm Röpke, "L'historien et les crises politiques" by Jacques Freymond, and "Couleur et société" by Conrad-André Beerli, an art historian, are of notable interest and give an idea of the topics to be found in the "Méthodes et problèmes" section. Among the contributors to the two volumes, in addition to those already mentioned, are Jacques Pirenne, Sven Stelling-Michaud, Armando Sapori, Henri Meylan, Fernand Braudel, Claude Fohlen, Alfred Sauvy, Henri Laufenburger, and Jean Marchal. Volume I contains a complete bibliography of Babel's writings and an appreciation.
Middlebury College CHARLES K. WARNER

VOM GLAUBENSKRIEG ZUM KLASSENKRIEG: DER KRIEGSZWECK IM SPIEGEL DER GESCHICHTSPHILOSOPHIE. Part 1. By *Pentti Airas.* [Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja, Series B, Number 90.] (Turku: Turun Yliopisto; distrib. by Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Helsinki. 1963. Pp. 181. 9 Finnish marks.) The difference in the morale of the Finnish Army in its two wars with the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1945 led the author to inquire into the relationship of what he calls the "spirit of the army" and the "purpose of war." In an extensive introduction, Pentti Airas outlines the basic theoretical presuppositions of his study. Every community has a "spirit" that is intimately connected with the "basic structure" of the community of which it forms an integral part. The community's desire for survival requires that this spirit be defended. Airas thus views societies in idealistic and organismic terms very different from the more empirical approach to social groups prevalent among American and English social scientists. To understand "what the spirit of the army is," Airas has

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proposed to study the transformation of the "purpose of war" in the two centuries from the end of the religious wars to the emergence of the idea of class war. The present part deals only with the first of these two centuries. The purpose of war, Airas holds, always closely reflects the *Zeitgeist.* Separate chapters are devoted to Bossuet, Bayle, Hobbes, and Voltaire. Bossuet, Airas observes, already marks the transition from the Wars of Religion to the wars of states by his identification of French national interests with those of the Church. Bayle attempts to remove religion from the state and recognizes only the rationally limited war for political ends as just. Hobbes extends these ends to include economic interests. Voltaire begins to question the state as an end and recognizes war as justified only in the service of popular welfare or the expansion of enlightenment. There is little new for the historian of ideas in this presentation, which is perhaps of greater interest to the student of military history or of military sociology.

Roosevelt University GEORG G. IGGERS

WELTGESCHICHTE DER GEGENWART. Edited by *Felix von Schroeder.* Volume II, DIE ERSCHEINUNGEN UND KRÄFTE DER MODERNEN WELT. By *Fritz Baade et al.* (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1963. Pp. 732. 48 fr. S.) In the second volume of this contemporary world history edited by Felix von Schroeder the contributors are seeking to provide a means by which the existing generation may recognize "the individuality of the present epoch" and "determine the point to which we have arrived in the endless chain of history." In his introduction Wilhelm Röpke recognizes that "an orientation of the present" is needed more than ever before, but that it is also more difficult than ever before to accomplish it. Regretfully, I conclude that these words were prophetic and that the volume fails to achieve its stated purpose. One of the causes of this failure is superficiality. Even a volume of this size is far too brief for the kind of analysis attempted in the essays composing it. Few of the authors are able to compress really penetrating observations into the space available. Perhaps most successful are the essays dealing with the religions of the world and those seeking to assess contemporary cultural and scientific trends. Fritz Baade has also provided a masterful summary of the problem of feeding a world population that may be expected to double itself within the remaining years of the century. The political sections of the volume suffer not only from the superficiality inherent in the condensed treatment but also from the inability of the German authors who dominate this section to divorce themselves from their national frame of reference. Thus Walther Hubatsch's summary of "World Politics and State Systems from 1939 to 1960" centers heavily on the position of Germany during and after the Second World War and is not entirely free from *post hoc* apologia. Similarly, I find Werner Weber's treatment of his categories of states (*Rechtsstaat, Sozialstaat, Parteienstaat,* and *Verbändestaat*) highly controversial and in some portions a veiled defense of authoritarian government. The article on economic developments by Valentín Vásquez de Prada by-passes a real analysis of the economic effectiveness of Fascism and Nazism and leaves the false impression that Nazism was really quite successful in this sphere. As a whole, the two volumes of the *Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart* may, therefore, be considered a useful and thought-provoking contribution to the subject of contemporary history, but are by no means a profound guide to the present-day status of mankind.

Florida State University EARL R. BECK

HISTOIRE DE L'INTERNATIONALISME. Volume III, DU CONGRÈS DE VIENNE JUSQU'À LA PREMIÈRE GUERRE MONDIALE (1914). By *August Schou.* [Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien, Number 8.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. 1963. Pp. viii, 565. Kr. 75.) For the historian of internationalism the selection of material is

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no easy matter, the more so in dealing with a period that was as articulate as the nineteenth century. Certain movements, sentiments, organizational activities, and international arrangements obviously must be treated. But several collateral issues and movements must also be taken into account. If the last are dealt with somewhat generously, the central narrative may become dispersed; if they are slighted, the central story may be left unduly sparse. The alternative chosen here is the former. Beyond a full treatment of the essential subjects, liberal attention has been given also to the collateral topics. Beyond these, when the narrative moves on to less immediate ideas and currents, the focus, as can be expected, blurs a little; a case in point is the discussion on some well-known literary and scientific figures of the period. Thus it is also with the chapter on imperialism, partly because the term as used here seems, to one reader, too limited (and perhaps too traditional) in scope. Such marginal matters, however, serve by contrast to illuminate the central merits of this substantial study. It is a solid and conscientious work, one worthy of its large theme and of the Norwegian Nobel Institute which sponsors it. In scope it is half encyclopedic. The author has probed widely in both primary and secondary materials. As director of the institute, Schou has supplemented its extensive materials with research in other important libraries in Northern and Western Europe. The freshest aspect of his work, for many readers, will be the numerous summaries of plans by individual writers for arranging public order between peoples and states. More often than is the case, these summaries might have been accompanied by brief biographical data, since so many figures are little known to the general reader. In format and appearance the volume is a credit to the bookmaker's craft. Would that the editors had not limited the index to proper names nor left the bibliography so heavily contingent upon footnotes. It is an extended account of internationalism that here is brought to a close. The study was planned and partially completed by Chr. L. Lange, the veteran Norwegian peace worker; Lange wrote the first volume (*AHR,* XXV [July 1920], 704) and began the second. Schou later finished this (*AHR,* LX [July 1955], 859) and is sole author of the third. The completed three-volume study takes its place as a standard work of orientation and reference on the idea of internationalism from ancient days to World War I.

New York University OSCAR J. FALNES

SECRET DIPLOMACY OF WORLD WAR II. By *Jacques de Launay.* Translated by *Edouard Nadier.* (New York: Simmons-Boardman. 1963. Pp. 175. $3.95.) This is an episodic and often engaging account of diplomatic maneuvering and shadowboxing during World War II whose results, the author admits, were "often very meager and always fragmentary." M. de Launay defines "secret diplomacy" broadly enough to embrace whatever struck him as worthy of attention (for example, an elaborate German plot to kidnap the Duke of Windsor in Spain, recurrent peace offers, biographical sketches of Jean Monnet and Charles Bedaux). Though a veteran diplomatic historian, the author studiously avoided the archives and based his narrative almost exclusively on a wide range of published memoirs over which he shows an extraordinary command. Possibly for lack of major surprises, he assures us that the offbeat diplomacy that interests him here "reveals more than official diplomacy does—the image of humanity searching for itself." Unfortunately this attractive *mystique,* brought forth in the foreword, must have been an afterthought. The book contains no index, but ends with an essay on bibliographical sources and sixteen pages of "documents," which perhaps might better have been woven into the text or omitted.

Bennington College THOMAS P. BROCKWAY

NEUTRALISM. By *Peter Lyon.* (New York: Humanities Press. 1963. Pp. 215. $4.50.) Neutralism, as a phenomenon of contemporary international politics, has been the

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subject of an understandably great weight of polemical writing, yet it has received relatively little attention at the hands of serious analysts. There have been some good articles, several of them in the collection *Neutralism and Nonalignment,* edited by L. W. Martin (1962), but Dr. Lyon of the University of Leicester is the first to treat this important topic at book length. In brief compass he has produced an excellent survey, at once a historical summary and a careful analysis of the tenets and assumptions of the neutralists. Neutralism (as opposed to neutrality) is a product of the cold war and the bipolar alliance systems it engendered. Although there have been individuals in virtually all countries who have propagated neutralist doctrines, it is no accident, as Lyon points out, that the most influential proponents of neutralism have been leaders of neutralist states. The doctrines themselves are scarcely novel; they become interesting only when they are a reflection of (or rationale for) actual state policies. Moreover, the states that are professedly neutralist are almost all "new" states in the sense that they have achieved independence since 1945. Those few that are not "new" have all been subjected to experiences, such as the revolutions in Egypt and Iraq or Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Soviet bloc, that have introduced sharp discontinuities into their histories. Reaction to past colonial rule or to a discredited former regime is a principal component of nearly all neutralist policies. As Lyon puts it, "New states do not just happen to be neutralist, they are neutralist because they are new." But shared doctrines by no means indicate shared policies. Lyon's case studies of Indian, Yugoslav, and Egyptian neutralism, and his analyses of the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries of September 1961 and the repercussions of the Chinese attack upon India a year later, support his contention that while all neutralists are agreed on the truth of their central propositions, "words can unite where actions can divide," and the general label "neutralist" is used to connote a range of policies and actions that is growing increasingly wide. There are, perhaps, blocs of neutralist powers, but there is no "neutralist bloc." All of Lyon's arguments are carefully documented and gracefully stated. He has, in addition, supplied his readers with a valuable annotated bibliography and an index which, particularly useful in such a book, includes "ideas" as well as persons and places.

Harvard University RICHARD H. ULLMAN

LA COMMUNAUTÉ INTERNATIONALE FACE AUX JEUNES ÉTATS. Under the direction of *Jean-Baptiste Duroselle* and *Jean Meyriat.* [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Relations internationales, Number 126. Centre d'Étude des Relations Internationales.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. 417. 22 fr.) The increased importance of the "Third World" of neutralist nations is one of the most striking of recent developments in international politics. Early in 1962 the *Centre d'Étude des Relations Internationales,* which in 1960 had held a conference on the emerging states themselves, held another on the effect of the change on the former colonial powers. Some of these conference papers are being published, this time in two volumes, of which this is the first. The second is to be on the policy of the former colonial powers toward the new states. In this collection the authors, nearly all of whom are associated with the *Centre,* explore the effect of the change on the existing system of international relations and particularly on the various groups and organizations to which the former colonial powers belong. There are sections on the British Commonwealth, SEATO, the international Communist bloc, and the UN, and discussions of Franco-American relations during the decolonization process in Southeast Asia and Algeria. While exploring these topics, the authors cover much of recent world history without claiming to exhaust the subject. Though the sources used are largely familiar and often American in origin, the story as seen through French eyes makes interesting reading. Perhaps the flavor of the whole is best suggested by the summary of the con-

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cluding chapter on the place of the emerging powers in the relations between the Eastern and Western blocs: "As an active force (particularly a military one) and as a political balancer in the classical sense the Third World is nothing, or almost nothing. As an economic and military stake it is something, but not much. As a psychological stake and a symbol of the present system and as a still undecipherable foreshadowing of the future in which in all probability it will not fail to make its mark, it is everything."

University of Delaware MARSHALL KNAPPEN

THE DOLLAR IN WORLD AFFAIRS: AN ESSAY IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL POLICY. By *Henry G. Aubrey*. (New York: Harper and Row for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1964. Pp. xii, 295. $5.50.) Americans cannot escape the economic consequences of the fact that the United States leads the capitalist world. This pre-eminence has converted the dollar from a national to an international currency, with the strengths and weaknesses pertaining to a unit involved with world-wide political and economic forces. This dollar leadership dictates priorities for vital international political objectives, currently threatened by narrow treatment of domestic economic problems. Hoping to improve public tolerance of policies befitting the dollar's status, the Council on Foreign Relations assisted Mr. Aubrey. He expounds important functions: those of the dollar as a means of international payments, a source of credit, the fulcrum of the "monetary universe"; those of the United States as the principal capital market of the world; those of America's balance of payments' deficit as an international service. Urging a pragmatic rather than a theoretical approach to dollar diplomacy, the author pleads for gradualism. He fears that historic American aversions to a continuing international deficit may end it prematurely. Presenting statistics questioning extreme solutions of the world's credit—"liquidity"—problems, he argues against some radical proposals, profering modifications of others. He deplores the "mystique of gold," but finds drastic dollar devaluation undesirable. Recognizing that development aspirations dominate underdeveloped politics and escalate demands for aid, he finds that hard choices, between maintenance of stability and advance in growth, confront *all* governments. Yet the author deplores pessimism. Since "the future of the dollar is of course the most crucial question in American and international monetary policy," self-interest must move foreign governments to share more of the international tasks burdening the dollar. For thoughtful "nonspecialists" sufficiently concerned to study monetary techniques, Aubrey describes contradictory alternatives, posed by political and economic factors, confronting American diplomatic policy makers. These alternatives may, he hopes, be accommodated in compromises. A historian may remind an economist that the United States grew via tolerance of compromise (except in 1861) and that perhaps this is one reassuring augury for future United States diplomacy.

University of Pennsylvania JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

Ancient and Medieval

Ὁ ΜΈΓΑΣ ΑΛΈΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΌΣ [Alexander the Great and Hellenism]. By *Ap. B. Daskalakis*. (Athens: Ὀργανισμὸς Ἐκδόσεως Διδακτικῶν Βιβλίων. 1963. Pp. 379.) Professor Daskalakis has written a learned and highly appreciative study of Alexander the Great. He emphasizes the Hellenism of the Macedonian conqueror on almost every page and in almost every way. Not only was Alexander a Greek through his father Philip and through Philip's mother and father and their ancestors, but the Molossians were also Greeks, including Olympias and her forebears. Greek blood was reinforced by a thoroughly Greek education, both elementary

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(Leonidas and others) and advanced (Aristotle plus wide reading in Greek literature). Furthermore, his aims were and remained Greek throughout his incredible career, uninfluenced by the cultures of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, and India. The indelible stamp of Hellenism was so deeply engraved on his soul by Aristotle at Mieza as to harden it against all other impressions forever. When Alexander died in Babylon, not yet thirty-three years old, he was planning further conquests—their extent uncertain, but the author says his hero would not have settled for Sicily and southern Italy, would have been impelled to reach Gibralter, and might have added Ethiopia as well as Arabia. For all this one fact is adduced: while in India Alexander asked Harpalus to send him some books, one of which was the *Sicilian History* of Philistus! The Macedonian King moves through the pages of this book as the incarnation of one personage after another: now Heracles, now Dionysus, now the embodiment of Greek science, but chiefly and above all as the hero of an epic, Achilles and Odysseus rolled into one. Alexander is always living in a legendary world. The famous story of his meeting with the Amazon queen, rejected by Plutarch (*Alex.* 46), is credited as a clever trick played on Alexander by some Persian satrap who knew his weaknesses. But Alexander was tricky, too. It is suggested that he arranged to have certain Indians pretend descent from the followers of Dionysus in order to improve morale among the Macedonians. In closing, one contribution may be mentioned. Daskalakis argues plausibly, against Balsdon (*Historia,* Volume I [1950], 364–88), that Alexander's deification was part of his order to restore the exiles.

University of California, Los Angeles TRUESDELL S. BROWN

MEDIEVAL HISTORY: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A CIVILIZATION. By *Norman F. Cantor.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. xi, 622. $8.50.) Professor Cantor here presents an interpretive essay on medieval civilization within the framework of a college textbook. He takes to task the older generation of American medievalists—and indirectly some of the older textbooks—for a certain "abstract indifference" to the great cultural and spiritual issues of the Middle Ages. That perhaps may be doubted, but there is no doubting Cantor's own conviction that medieval studies can contribute more than they have done to the humanistic curriculum. From this infectious sense of the significance of his subject, his book gains much. The better part of the work is its initial half, dealing with the early Middle Ages. His treatment of St. Augustine, for example, is ample, perceptive, current, and the best I have encountered in any textbook. Intellectual and religious history is on the whole well presented. But it must also be reported that the book has serious flaws. Cantor has not combined his broad and often persuasive interpretations with an adequate concern for accuracy; mistakes abound. The section on the crusades, in which Turks are confused with Arabs and the course of the Second Crusade misconstrued, is probably the low point of the book. His earlier depiction of a "marked drainage of gold to the East, causing a great inflation [in the West] in the second century" will stun readers with a rudimentary sense of economics. Many of his interpretations can hardly be called balanced. Homosexuality emerges as a major if not the major cause of the fall of the Roman Empire, and the author confidently asserts, on what grounds we are not told, that "there was no significant decline of population in the later Empire." The style shows repetitions verging on inconsistencies, awkward phrases ("the trinity of God, Son and Holy Spirit"), pleonasms ("modern neo-Thomists"), and other signs of an apparently hasty composition. Such slips are not major, but they are unfortunate and could be misleading for students. They could also have been easily avoided. Did the author take the prudent step of submitting his manuscript to a fellow medievalist for his evaluation or criticism? It is hard to believe that he reread his own text with particular attention. This is, as it stands, an interesting book. With a little additional

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care, perhaps a little more time devoted to a critical review of the manuscript, it could have been a much better one.

University of Wisconsin DAVID HERLIHY

DEUTSCHLANDS GESCHICHTSQUELLEN IM MITTELALTER: VORZEIT UND KAROLINGER. Part 4, DIE KAROLINGER VOM VERTRAG VON VERDUN BIS ZUM HERRSCHAFTSANTRITT DER HERRSCHER AUS DEM SÄCHSISCHEN HAUSE. ITALIEN UND DAS PAPSTTUM. By *Wattenbach-Levison.* Revised by *Heinz Löwe.* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1963. Pp. 387–490. DM 4.40.) The last complete edition (the sixth) of his indispensable *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter,* Wattenbach, who died in 1897, published in two volumes in 1893–1894. Ernst Dümmler's (and Ludwig Traube's) 1904 or seventh edition included only Volume I. In the 1930's Wilhelm Levison planned a new, eighth, edition as a cooperative work, and Robert Holtzmann in 1938 began to publish his *Deutsche Kaiserzeit* (see *AHR,* XLV [Oct. 1939], 201). Four parts appeared from 1938 to 1943, and two unrevised editions came out in 1942 and 1948. Levison left Germany for England in 1939, taking his writings, but after Levison's death in 1947 Walther Holtzmann secured Levison's materials. In 1952 Holtzmann published one portion as the *Vorzeit,* while Heinz Löwe published the remainder in Part Two, *Die Karolinger . . . bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen* (1952–53). Part Three, *Die Karolinger . . . bis zum Vertrag von Verdun* (1957) and the present Part Four are entirely Löwe's work. Rudolf Buchner published the legal sources as a supplement (*Beiheft*), *Die Rechtsquellen* (1953). Seven sections and an index comprise the fourth part. The topics begin with a general discussion of the kingdom of Italy. Then comes northwest Italy, especially Pavia, Lombardy, and the Carolingian capital; next, Verona, Friuli, Venice, and nearby cities; then Tuscany and its cities important in the Carolingian period. Nineteen pages discuss southern Italy, including Monte Cassino, and nineteen, Rome and the papacy. The final section discusses the papacy and Constantine and Methodius, and efforts to win Slavic lands over to Rome. Going beyond Wattenbach's restriction to narrative sources, Löwe includes documents, letters, literature, and portraits, also devoting much attention to saints' lives as important sources. General bibliographies precede the kingdom of Italy and the papacy sections. The extensive bibliography supporting individual topics includes significant source and secondary works, both early and recent, through 1962.

Belvedere-Tiburon, California HARRIET PRATT LATTIN

WALA: GRAF, MÖNCH UND REBELL. DIE BIOGRAPHIE EINES KAROLINGERS. By *Lorenz Weinrich.* [Historische Studien, Number 386.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1963. Pp. 105. DM 12.) Like many a historian with a different subject, Dr. Weinrich wanted to write a biography that would be unified and final (*ein einheitliches und in etwa endgültiges Bild*). He is dealing with difficult decades of the early ninth century, when an imperial structure was threatened with serious disruption and every force in contemporary society needed to be encouraged. There was not only the new problem of the large-scale defense of the realm in the face of grasping sons of a weak king and complicated by the ambitions of a strong and second queen mother (Judith) for her son (Charles the Bald). There were further questions of relationships between Church and state, centering upon the proprietary Church. The urgency of monastic reform (Benedict of Aniane) and the difficulty of combining the ascetic with public life came to a climax with the criticism of the royal chapel and the power of ubiquitous political abbots. In view of vast plans for the conversion of Scandinavia and East Elbia the missionary policy of Charlemagne had to be reconsidered. With all these matters Wala was vitally concerned from the last years of Charlemagne's reign to that of his own death in 836. The victim of periodic exiles from court, a rebellious abbot willing to see

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his monastery (Corbie) used as a center for action against the dominating Queen, the supporter at all times of what he regarded as the opinions and forces of integration and unity everywhere, he was a fine, constructive figure in the midst of incipient chaos. He ended his fourth exile from court in Columban's Bobbio, somewhat weary of the political scene without abandoning his responsibility to it. He was buried alongside the Irish saint, himself an active participant in a similar environment, and the opponent of an earlier ambitious Frankish queen. At the last, taking comfort in his own integrity, he could say to Radbert, whose *Epitaphium Arsenii* (Arsenius=Wala) is the chief source of this biography: *Ita, fili, fac, si quo modo, quęcumque scis boni, opere agas, ne tui minor inveniaris.* To write a unified and final biography supposedly is to create a balanced artistic whole as well as a professional coverage of all the facts. Weinrich is inclined, perhaps necessarily, to take for granted the larger background of the society of the early ninth century for a pursuit of the details of Wala's life in terms of the conventional rigors of monographic scholarship. It could be said, therefore, that the biography is artistically incomplete and accordingly not final. Or possibly it is too final. It would be a pity, in any case, if its careful scholarship were so ultimate that the biography were to remain comparatively unread upon the shelves of European and, I am thinking, especially of American university libraries whose readers' curiosity about Carolingian history needs to be cultivated.

Brandeis University EDGAR N. JOHNSON

LE CARTULAIRE DE VIERZON. Edited with introduction, notes, and index by *Guy Devailly.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Rennes.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. 300. 26 fr.) Vierzon lies in the Haut-Berry, about twenty miles northeast of Bourges. Here a community of Benedictine monks, founded in the mid-ninth century at Dèvres, came to relocate their monastery in the tenth century after the troubled period of Norse invasions and civil wars. Though never to be very large or great, the monastery flourished in the eleventh century and grew from perhaps eight to twenty-eight monks. It became rich enough to have its independence threatened early in the twelfth century, and an abbot named Herbert busied himself with the muniments of the house, causing some to be made over into fascinating forgeries and many to be copied into a chartulary. Later in the century Herbert's chartulary was copied with considerable additions in the rather fine book, ornamented with pen drawings, which remains today. While the chartulary has long been known to scholars, full publication of its many early documents is a real service to scholarship, and the editing has been done with care and skill, even if one finds slips here and there. M. Devailly has also written a long introduction with chapters on the abbey's temporalities and on the society of Berry as mirrored in the chartulary. The last is especially interesting on the "colliberti" and on the enfranchisement of the serfs, for the chartulary is rich in transactions concerning the unfree. The importance of vineyards in the abbey's endowment is made clear, but Devailly does not prepare the reader for the extensive money economy viticulture supported as early as the mid-tenth century. One document pictures the lord of Vierzon coming to the abbey in 1052 for money to pay the stipendiary knights with whom he had been waging war on the neighboring lord of Graçay. Clearly this early chartulary will repay further study.

University of Connecticut FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

THE LIFE OF ST HUGH OF LINCOLN. In two volumes. Edited by *Decima L. Douie* and *Dom Hugh Farmer, O.S.B.* [Medieval Texts.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1961; 1962. Pp. liv, 133 Latin, 133 English; 232 Latin, 232 English, 232A–246. $8.00; $9.60.) The Benedictine Adam, from 1213 abbot of Eynsham, completed this life of St. Hugh probably soon after 1212.

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Adam deserves the praise he has received for his obvious virtues as a biographer. He is orderly and intricate. He involves, for example, a nice amount of contemporary legal procedure in his interestingly arranged miracles. He is knowledgeable; he was Hugh's chaplain for the three years before Hugh's death in 1200. Adam is both personal and independent. But he is also verbose, rather too often abstract, not entirely amiable, and perhaps something of a snob. The pleasures of reading him are, in fact, not directly connected with him at all, but rather with his subject, a superbly majestic saint who ruled well his diocese and himself and charmed to tameness two symbolic intractables of late twelfth-century England—the swan and the Plantagenet. Because of Hugh this saint's life still does what a saint's life is supposed to do: it offers a model for and stimulus to Christian virtue. Because of Hugh, again, the life is an important source for the intellectual history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Hugh's life exposes with misleading clarity the change from one dominant mode of thought and feeling to another. As a child of eight Hugh was taken by his widowed father, a Burgundian knight, to a house of Austin canons, but when Hugh was about twenty-five he was drawn to the eremitical retirement of the Grande Chartreuse, the finest flower of a sort of religiosity. In about 1179 Hugh went to England as prior of Witham; in 1186, when he was about forty-five, he became bishop of Lincoln, a diocese that a succession of remarkable bishops made the finest example in Europe of another sort of religiosity, external and pastoral. Hugh the meditating Carthusian became Hugh the active diocesan, although in his new guise he retired for one month a year to simple, dishwashing seclusion at Witham. The exact tone of Hugh's pastoralism seems available in Adam's life: Hugh's mobility and humble seriousness (no confirmations from horseback), his lack of preference for celibacy in others, his ability to be an effective minister without the local language, his attitude toward kings, Cluny, and Becket. And now Adam's life is clearly and pleasantly edited and translated.

University of California, Berkeley ROBERT BRENTANO

CRUSADERS AS CONQUERORS: THE CHRONICLE OF MOREA. Translated from the Greek, with notes and introduction, by *Harold E. Lurier.* [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, Number 69.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. 346. $7.50.) This is an annotated translation of the Greek version of what has come to be known as *The Chronicle of Morea,* a colorful narrative of the Fourth Crusade and the subsequent vicissitudes of the crusaders in Greece to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The chronicle, or chronicles, presently exists in eight manuscripts written in Greek, French, Aragonese, and Italian, the Greek version being in verse. The Aragonese and Italian versions are of considerably later date. The original author apparently intended to compose a sort of *chanson de geste* glorifying the deeds of the Franks. As a consequence, the narrative of events is frequently false or confused. The importance of the chronicle lies, rather, in the remarkable picture it presents of the operation of French feudalism in Greece during the thirteenth century. Since the two principal modern editions of the Greek version, those of Schmitt (1904) and Kalanaros (1940), need considerable correction in the light of recent scholarship, Professor Lurier has had to probe into a number of difficult historical and textual matters. This he has done with evident skill. As a consequence, his introduction is an important scholarly contribution to the problem of the origins and nature of the chronicle. According to his analysis, both the French and Greek versions were derived from an earlier French prototype, written probably around 1310. The Greek version, a free adaptation of the original, was produced, presumably by a Greek-speaking French scribe, around 1388 at a time when Greek had become the principal language of the area, even of those of French origin. Such a hypothesis helps to explain why a markedly pro-Frankish work was presented in Greek, as well as why it abounds not only in medieval Greek,

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but also medieval French idioms and words derived from French. In his translation Lurier has decided to keep as close to the text as possible. The result, as he himself remarks, is not "a well-written English chronicle in verse." But the flavor of the original has thus been retained. This is important, because the character and style of the Greek version are as much a product of the civilization that the chronicle mirrors as are the events that it records. As a guide to the latter, the translator has included a summary of events as they actually took place, a map, and tables. Western historians have become increasingly aware of the significance of Frankish Greece, not only as a unique facet of medieval civilization, but also because of its role in the transfer of ideas. This volume will accordingly be welcomed by students of medieval institutions who do not read Greek. It is a distinguished addition to a well-known series.

New York University MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

A BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE TO 1500. By *A. B. Emden.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xl, 695. $25.00.) Mr. A. B. Emden has once again put all students of the English past deeply in his debt by adding this volume to his *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to* A.D. *1500* (3 vols., 1957–59). Although it contains only 7,143 entries compared to the 15,282 in the Oxford *Register,* the importance of this contribution can best be indicated by recalling that Part I of the Venns's *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* has notices for no more than 4,320 Cambridge men who entered the university before 1500. It includes some *magistri* of Ely diocese who have been labeled "probably of Cambridge" and some other *magistri* who "possibly studied at Cambridge." Any individual who was in his lifetime a member of both universities has a full biographical notice here as well as in the Oxford *Register.* In this volume Emden follows the same form of notice as he used in his earlier work. A full entry includes the surname with all its variants; information on birth and family; details on academic career; ecclesiastical data such as ordination, livings, and preferments; other biographical information, usually of a secular nature; notes on authorship; information on death, burial, will, and bequests; and, when known, an inventory of books and manuscripts owned by the person with indication where those still extant are now located. Occasionally, especially for bishops, the entries conclude with notices about existence of registers and other records of official acts either in manuscript or in print. Throughout he cites the sources of his information immediately after each statement. Some entries, of course, contain but one and that the only known fact about a man. Thus for Richard Brinkull this sole item remains of his acts, both good and ill: "Clk. of Cambridge, charged with theft of eels and other fish to the value of 4s., July 1326." Other entries are very extensive, and those for men who are also noticed in the *Dictionary of National Biography* usually contain much fuller and more accurate information than is available in the older work. But Emden's notices are not interpretive essays; they only report the facts and the sources. Scholars who use the work will get excellent leads for their own research, but must put them in context and flesh out the bones with explanations arising from their own understanding of the past.

University of California, Los Angeles MARK H. CURTIS

THE ORIGINS OF LINCOLN'S INN. By *Sir Ronald Roxburgh.* [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 90. $3.75.) In this work of "intricate research and speculation," the author examines all existent theories about the origins of the Lincoln's Inn and draws new evidence from a seventeenth-century Middle Temple manuscript that he ascribes to William Hakewill, solicitor to Anne of Denmark. Unimportant in itself, the document incorporates passages from a now lost manuscript by William Sulyard, fellow of the inn in Henry VIII's

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reign and lessee for a term of ninety-nine years of "all that great house called Lincoln's Inne" from the bishop of Chichester in 1535. On the strength mainly of Sulyard's account, antedating Stowe's by more than fifty years, Roxburgh goes back to the traditional view that the inns in general and Lincoln's Inn in particular were founded in response to Edward I's order to Justice Metingham of the Common Pleas in 1292. Sulyard ascribes to Henry de Lacy, then earl of Lincoln, an active part in the founding of the society's house on the site of ruinous buildings that had once been the bishop of Chichester's townhouse. Roxburgh rejects not only Stowe's statement that the society took over the Earl's townhouse at his death, which had already been discredited by the discovery that the Earl's house was east of Chancery Lane, but also the alternative theory that the society was founded in the middle fourteenth century by a Thomas de Lincoln, sergeant-at-law on properties also east of Chancery Lane, and that the lawyers migrated to the bishop of Chichester's site sometime between 1399 and 1422, when the Black Books begin. The argument is telling but intricate. The reader would follow it more readily if a map were included. On balance, although the author admits that his proof is inconclusive, one is inclined to accept this defense by a member and past treasurer of the Honourable Society of its title to display on its arms the Lacy lion.

Rutgers University MARGARET HASTINGS

GASCON ROLLS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, 1307–1317. Edited by *Yves Renouard* under the supervision of *Robert Fawtier*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1962. Pp. ii, xxxi, 660. $29.40.) The series of Gascon rolls preserved in the Public Record Office in London forms the principal surviving record of the administration of southwestern France while under English rule. The rolls cover the period from 1253 to 1460 with a few gaps, and, like the patent, close, and charter rolls devoted to England, they furnish almost day-by-day details of practically every phase of Gascon history—political and administrative, economic and social, ecclesiastical and institutional, military and naval. They have long been known to and used by scholars, but up to now only the rolls for the reigns of Henry III and Edward I have been available in print. Now after the lapse of more than half a century, what promises to be a regular and orderly continuation of the series has begun. This volume, which appears in France as *Rôles gascons,* Volume IV, is the result of a happy example of international collaboration in scholarship by the Public Record Office and the *Comité des Travaux Historiques*. This volume contains: thirty-one letters completing the Gascon rolls for the reign of Edward I, with a separate index for these, and including two letters concerning Ponthieu, since acts dealing with this county were customarily enrolled on the Gascon rolls; Gascon rolls for the period July 8, 1307–July 7, 1317; an appendix of acts relating to Ponthieu for the same period; a second appendix of six documents relating to Gascony drawn from other classes in the Public Record Office and made available by Dr. Pierre Chaplais, whose knowledge of such matters is incomparable, and whose skill as an editor is of the highest order. These make up three dossiers: the account of Jean Guitard and Albert (alias Aubert) Mège, receivers in Aquitaine, covering the period November 10–11, 1311–February 6–10, 1312; one concerning a levy in Aquitaine of an aid for the Scottish War in 1315–1316; a report on the state of the duchy at the beginning of 1317. The volume also contains an index of names and places and a separate one for subjects. In his introduction Professor Renouard, in addition to editorial notes, publishes itineraries for the two journeys of Edward II to France in 1308 and in 1313 and a complete list of ducal officers from 1307 to 1317. He promises in the succeeding volume *une étude d'ensemble* of the characteristics and composition of the Gascon rolls of Edward II. We have here a definitive edition of the texts of these rolls; more than that, every document in the Record Office complementary to them is mentioned in its proper place in a footnote. The only major criticism is that

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this volume will be of little or no use to those who do not know Latin. The subject indexes and the subheadings in the indexes of persons and places are exclusively in Latin.

Emory University G. P. CUTTINO

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF NICHOLAS OF CUSA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS *DE CONCORDANTIA CATHOLICA*. By *Morimichi Watanabe*. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Number 58.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1963. Pp. 214. 36 fr. S.) This is the second book on Nicholas of Cusa's political theory to appear in the past few months. Paul Sigmund's work was a general survey that dealt extensively with the philosophical background of Nicholas' work and gave considerable attention to the Neoplatonic, "hierarchical" elements in his thought. Watanabe has concentrated more narrowly on Nicholas' conciliar ideas as expounded in the *De Concordantia Catholica* and with the juristic, especially canonistic, origins of those ideas. After an introductory chapter on the historical background, he describes Nicholas' views on the origins of political authority, then his concepts of the church and of the empire, and, finally, his theory of the relationship between church and state. The work is not strikingly original, but it provides a sound scholarly treatment of an important theme of late medieval political thought. In his conclusion the author expresses some skepticism concerning Figgis' claim that the conciliarists profoundly influenced later political theory. Nicholas of Cusa's ideas, Watanabe points out, were "solidly based on the medieval tradition." This is true enough, but, when it becomes possible to write a general history of Western constitutionalism, the conciliarists will probably have a place of central importance in the story precisely because their works had roots in the twelfth century as well as repercussions in the seventeenth.

Cornell University BRIAN TIERNEY

LA JEUNESSE DE LAURENT DE MÉDICIS (1449–1478). By *André Rochon*. [Les classiques de l'humanisme. Études, Number 9.] (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." 1963. Pp. 728.) There has been a severe reaction in contemporary studies of Lorenzo de' Medici against those encomiasts of his patronage and his taste, his first biographer, Niccolo Valori, and the *cinquecento* art historian, Giorgio Vasari. (Though in the case of the latter, his portrait is crueler than his pen, unflinchingly revealing Lorenzo's *inquietudo animi*.) Even harsher disparagement of the premodern works of Fabrioni, Roscoe, and Reumont has followed; it has been charged that these latter-day writers embellished the fiction of an *il Magnifico* in order to please an aristocratic Europe. Such an argument is, of course, a double-edged sword; conversely, a writer of the present might flatter the demos by tarnishing the credentials of *il Magnifico*. Twentieth-century scholarship, then, has presided at the devastation of the legend of the bountiful patronage of Lorenzo and the deprecation of the myth of Lorenzo as cultural arbiter. Chastel and Renaudet reject the once prevalent, romantic view of *il Magnifico*'s greatness, for did he not prefer horses, the chase, medallions, and jewelry to the treasures of Renaissance art and culture? Now he is depicted as a kind of director of "propagande culturelle" who sought to aggrandize his house and his person by winning the plaudits of artists, poets, and philosophers. One sees shades of Augustus looming large in the streets of *quattrocento* Florence. The present study acknowledges its debt to recent French scholarship and then sets out with ample caution to bridge the gap between the history of the youthful Lorenzo and his not too original early poetry. To the extent that one believes that poetry is a process of depersonalization—not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion—the book has limitations. For if this is indeed a proper position, then the history of the poet and his writings are two separate entities. But since the author treats the life and writings of Lorenzo only until the rude awakening of the Pazzi conspiracy (1478), and the young Lorenzo, still in his twenties,

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does not bear the armor of the professional, such a technique of bland analysis is quite successful. The writings reveal much about the life because Lorenzo is not yet an accomplished poet. Methodically and in great detail the author discusses his subject's first pallid imitations of Petrarch, Dante, and Cavalcanti. Here we see the youthful Medici tracing his way through that maze of medieval and classical forms. There are intimations of the harmony that will be expressed later in his *ballate*. Also we are introduced to Lorenzo's metaphysical and religious writings. If one can countenance the banality of metaphor and the triteness of imagery in these very early pieces, then one comes to feel something of the mettle of his intellect. His was a mind that posed afresh discouraging ancient antitheses: sensuality and the pastoral, Arcadia and the responsibilities of office. There is dissatisfaction with the traditional resolution of controversies about the active and the contemplative life. Perhaps here we can sense something of Lorenzo's deep affinity for Ficino. The author's analysis of the *Altercazione* stresses the disquiet, almost tragic, yearning of the poet as he dismisses older resolutions of interior conflict and searches for a release in annihilation of self in the ecstasy of divine love. The portrayal of Lorenzo's family, friends, and early ill-requited loves is incisive, but the description of politics during his early years is conventional. It is very doubtful that Lorenzo exercised so tight a grip on the city, as is indicated in this work, until very late in his life. No matter what the adjective one chooses to place before the noun tyrant, it is probably inappropriate in Lorenzo's case. As to the enigma of his character, only those armed with the moral certainties of our day would dare pass judgment. The author sees him as his contemporaries did: a blend of sensuality and refinement. Perhaps these are not polar qualities.

University of Rochester MARVIN B. BECKER

Modern Europe

POLEN UND DEUTSCHLAND: WISSENSCHAFTLICHE KONFERENZ POLNISCHER HISTORIKER ÜBER DIE POLNISCH-DEUTSCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN IN DER VERGANGENHEIT. With an introduction, DER POLNISCHE BEITRAG ZU EINEM EUROPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTSBILD, by *Herbert Ludat.* [Quellenhefte zu Geschichtswissenschaft in Osteuropa nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg. Part 1, Polen. Number 1.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1963. Pp. x, 206. DM 20.) This volume introduces a new endeavor by the Herder Institute in Marburg, Germany, which specializes in the recent history of East Central Europe: the publication, in German translation, of the records of various Polish historical conferences since 1945. This first effort presents the Wrocław (Breslau) conference of May 1950. The purposes of the meeting were immediately made clear by Stanisław Arnold, who called for "the necessary consolidation of historical science in Poland in connection with the demands of life standing today before us." One unusual characteristic of the meeting was the presence of workers' representatives, who subsequently promised to inform their colleagues of what the historians were doing. The substance of the meeting consisted of four papers on the history of Polish-German relations, followed by discussion aimed at uncovering, in Arnold's words, "the positive traditions of cooperation of the progressive factors in the history of Poland and Germany and the elucidation of the genesis of the conflict." Herbert Ludat has added to the protocol of the conference an essay depicting the relationship of this new trend of Polish historiography to Poland's own past, and he has also appended over two hundred notes (fifty-six pages), commenting on the text, discussing personalities, and offering additional bibliography.

University of Wisconsin ALFRED ERICH SENN

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UN RÉFORMATEUR CATHOLIQUE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE: EUGÈNE MICHAUD (1839–1917). VIEUX-CATHOLICISME—ŒCUMÉNISME. By *Raoul Dederen.* [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 2.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1963. Pp. xviii, 338.) This scholarly and interesting study is not designed as a biography but as a historical analysis of the Old Catholic movement, primarily in France and Switzerland, as seen through the career and writings of Abbé Eugène Michaud, former Dominican, onetime liberal Catholic vicar of the Madeleine, Old Catholic professor of theology and French literature at the University of Bern, Old Catholic episcopal vicar-general in the canton of Geneva, historian, and editor from 1893 to 1910 of the *Revue Internationale de Théologie,* dedicated to the cause of Christian unity. The author, a former professor at the University of Geneva and theologian, not of Catholic or Old Catholic persuasion, makes his greatest contribution in his stress upon the French aspects of a movement often considered as German and in his objective and sympathetic exposition of Michaud's thought and career. His work is based on Michaud's correspondence in the archives of the Bern Faculty of Theology, his memoirs (which would seem to merit publication), and documents in the archives of the Old Catholic Church in Utrecht, the Döllinger papers in Munich, episcopal archives in Bonn and Bern, the archives of the Ministry of Public Education in Leningrad, the *Archives Nationales* in Paris, and the Public Library in Geneva. His account of the Vatican Council of 1870 and of the Old Catholic movement in general is also drawn from such secondary studies as those of Aubert and Dansette. As a history of the Old Catholic movement in France, the study of Michaud's career, including his relations with Hyacinthe Loyson, is not completely satisfactory. The book would have gained in clarity, and much repetition might have been avoided, if the author had presented a comprehensive biography of Michaud, including an analysis of his ideas and of the Old Catholic organizations. Instead he has divided his work into four sections: a brief biographical sketch; the origin, history, and reform program of the Old Catholics; Michaud's ecumenical ideas and activities; and his historical method and philosophy of history. According to Dederen, Michaud laid the bases of the Old Catholic movement as it exists today through his theological and historical writings. A man of conscience and passionately devoted to reason and freedom of thought, he was sometimes too violent in his expression for the good of his cause. Dederen, however, attributes the failure of Old Catholicism to attain greater influence in France to other causes: the preoccupation of the French with the Franco-Prussian War, the German affiliations of the Old Catholics, the opposition of the monarchical assembly to the movement, the strong moral position of the Roman Catholic Church and the conciliatory policies of Leo XIII, the Positivist orientation of the Republicans, and the failure of the Old Catholics to make an emotional, moral appeal to the masses. Anticlericalism rather than Old Catholicism profited from the opposition to papal infallibility. Dederen's work will be of interest chiefly to church historians and theologians. It has, however, a wider appeal because of its insight into the problem of achieving greater Christian unity. Michaud not only rejected the dogma of papal infallibility because of his historical studies, but he advocated a return to the dogma and traditions of the Catholic Church of the first eight centuries, as expressed in the Scriptures, the Church fathers, and the first seven ecumenical councils, before the idea of papal supremacy became paramount and before the schism between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches occurred. He hoped that all Christian churches might come to accept this faith, which rested on historic bases, and become associated as autonomous units in a great Catholic Church. He also looked forward to a European union, which would precede a union of humanism. He predicted that the Orthodox Churches, which were closer to primitive Christianity, would be the first to join such a universal church; whereas the Roman Catholic Church would be the last.

State University College, New Paltz, New York EVELYN M. ACOMB

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DIE POLITISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN DEUTSCHLAND UND FRANKREICH ZUR ZEIT DER AKTIVEN AUSSENPOLITIK HITLERS, ENDE 1937 BIS ZUM KRIEGSAUSBRUCH. By *Eberhard Scheler.* (Frankfurt: the Author. 1962. Pp. 292.) This unrevised doctoral dissertation, which deals with Franco-German diplomatic relations, 1937–1939, is based entirely on already published materials, primarily German and British Foreign Office documents. Hence it adds nothing to our knowledge of the period. With thousands of unpublished German diplomatic and military documents at the disposal of historians one can only wonder why the author ignored this fruitful source. (The lack of a preface or introduction makes it difficult to guess at the purpose and intended limitation of this study.) To base a work of this kind on two documentary collections and half a dozen memoirs is parochial. Though he mentions the *Foreign Relations* series in his bibliography, Scheler makes no use of it and is apparently unaware of the *Documents on Polish-Soviet Relations, 1939–1945,* published by the Sikorski Institute, London, in 1961. He does, on the other hand, use M. Freund, *Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart in Dokumenten* (1953), a thoroughly unreliable work. Regarding secondary sources, Scheler relies too much and, in my opinion, too indiscriminately on the memoirs of Bonnet, Weizsäcker, Ribbentrop, Kordt, and Ciano; nor does he fully exploit the wealth of periodical literature in this field. He seems, for instance, not to know Scherer's article "Les 'Mains Libres' à l'Est" in the *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale* (VIII [Oct. 1958], 1–25). The author fails in many instances to relate domestic issues to the foreign policies of France and Germany and all but ignores the French-British-Soviet negotiations in the spring and summer of 1939. There are a number of errors, the most annoying of which is Scheler's assertion that the United States "has from 1950 on, also begun to publish diplomatic papers." *Washington, D. C.* GEORGE O. KENT

THE STRATEGY OF SEA POWER: ITS DEVELOPMENT AND APPLICATION. BASED ON THE LEES-KNOWLES LECTURES DELIVERED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, 1961. By *S. W. Roskill.* (London: Collins; distrib. by Archon Books, Hamden, Conn. 1962. Pp. 287. $5.00.) Succinctly surveying the development of British maritime strategy from the Tudor era through World War II, Captain Roskill reverses Mahan's famous title to demonstrate history's influence on the use or misuse of sea power. Careful analysis and comparison of major periods of naval involvement develop the dominant theme: the continuing validity of historic principles underlying any true maritime strategy despite change in technology or foe. Lessons learned through costly experience must become part of national policy, not forgotten only to be relearned in time of renewed national peril. Emphasizing his point, the author devotes his final chapter to presentation of a defense program for present-day Britain based on historically proven uses of naval power: maintenance of a national deterrent with the nuclear submarine as the means of delivery; creation of two joint service mobile striking forces; and the strengthening of sea-air trade defense forces for use in blockade and convoy escort duties. Thus Roskill turns his monograph into a possible text for his nation's leaders, "frocks" and "brasshats," as well as a plea to avoid the most frequent mistake in Britain's naval history—neglect of its maritime strength in peacetime. The care with which material is handled, the detailed analysis of wartime uses of naval power throughout British history, and the evidence of painstaking research combine to make it difficult to challenge Roskill's general conclusions. One could differ on such particulars as the prediction that the nuclear "true" submarine will be "the capital ship of the future" or explaining the retention of a British nuclear deterrent as the inability to "guarantee" the promptness of American action to halt "major aggression against western Europe." But the willingness to engage in some of the most ancient naval controversies should be applauded. Roskill joins the "Maritime" school against the "Continental"

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philosophy, which has dominated British strategy in both world wars. He also supports the view that the key roles of naval forces are blockade, convoy escort, and amphibious campaigns. Thus he opposes the more activist or offensive program so often demanded of the fleet. This book should be regarded as a significant addition to strategic studies in an era that demands our best understanding of the validity of past military experience in the seemingly uncharted waters of the nuclear age.

Colorado College ROBIN M. RUDOFF

THE ELECT NATION: THE MEANING AND RELEVANCE OF FOXE'S *BOOK OF MARTYRS*. By *William Haller*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1963. Pp. 258. $5.00.) William Haller states that his intention is "to relate the human circumstances which led to the composition and publication 'Of Foxe's book,' to explain what the book appears to have conveyed to the people of its own time, and to suggest what seems to have been its effect on the public mind in that and the immediately succeeding age." This he accomplishes in a lucid, readable style, with few footnotes and with carefully chosen quotations largely taken from sixteenth-century printed works. In the first half of the book, the historical and literary background is competently presented. This is followed by a detailed account of the development of the *Actes and Monumentes* from the Latin edition of 1559 to the two-volume edition of 1570, in which there is demonstrated the relation between the continued revision and publication of the book and the historical developments in England. But Haller's chief contribution, marking a distinct advance upon J. F. Mozley's valuable study, comes with his thorough examination of the contents of Foxe's magnum opus. Here, in the last half of the book, attention is centered not as with Maitland upon the accuracy or inaccuracy of Foxe's recounting of facts, but rather upon the particular historiography that the martyrologist derived from Eusebius and Augustine, Flacius and Bale. Foxe is thus shown to hold a Christian and apologetic view of history conjoined to the burgeoning national sentiment of the time, all coming to a focus upon the person of Elizabeth I. Thus it is, as the author concludes, that Foxe's "book made plain that by all the signs to be found in scripture and history the will of God was about to be fulfilled in England by a prince perfect in her obedience to her vocation, ruling a people perfect in their obedience to her authority." As an essay in the history of ideas, Haller's book is of great interest, illuminating the sixteenth-century Protestant mind and emphasizing the buoyant spirit of Elizabethan England.

Virginia Theological Seminary JOHN E. BOOTY

HERBERT CORRESPONDENCE: THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LETTERS OF THE HERBERTS OF CHIRBURY, POWIS CASTLE AND DOLGUOG, FORMERLY AT POWIS CASTLE IN MONTGOMERYSHIRE. Edited by *W. J. Smith*. [Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales, History and Law Series, Number 21.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press; Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1963. Pp. 412. 45*s*.) The marriage of Barbara Herbert to Henry Arthur Herbert, earl of Powis, in 1751 formally marked a union of blood, lands, and titles of several branches of the Herbert family that had been in the making for a great many years. As a result of the marriages, bequests, and grants that marked the process of union there had come together at Powis Castle the papers of what had been in Tudor and Stuart times three distinct branches of the Herbert family: the Catholic Herberts of Powis Castle, the Herberts of Montgomery whose most famous representative was the first Lord Herbert of Chirbury, and the Herberts of Dolguog. Between 1933 and 1959 those papers were transferred from Powis Castle to the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, and the present volume is a calendar of roughly seven hundred of those letters; in an appendix the editor has listed one hundred items that he omitted from the calendar because of their routine or fragmentary nature. Fifty-nine letters of the

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Catholic Herberts form the first part of the calendar. The remainder of the book is a calendar of the Montgomery and Dolguog papers arranged chronologically in a single series. Both parts of the calendar range in time over the whole of the seventeenth century with a few letters of minor importance from the reign of Elizabeth. Instead of writing a selective description of what seemed interesting or important to him, the editor has made a highly detailed condensation of each letter. The result is a useful but hardly readable volume. The letters have to do mainly with landed estates in England, Wales, and Ireland, and the multitude of problems arising from their management. Agents were faithless or inefficient; tenants failed in their obligations; titles were obscure or contested; claims and counterclaims led to litigation. These papers illustrate most eloquently the trials that beset the landlord. Among the more interesting letters are those relating to the great Lord Herbert of Chirbury's dealings with Parliament concerning his castle in Montgomery during the Civil War. The fullest series of letters are those concerning the complex problems of managing the Castle Island estate in Ireland. In his introduction and in notes appended to certain letters the editor has clearly and concisely provided the reader with necessary information for understanding the calendar.

Williams College DUDLEY W. R. BAHLMAN

THE COPPER KING: A BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS WILLIAMS OF LLANIDAN. By *J. R. Harris.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 194. $5.75.) The subject of this monograph, Thomas Williams of Llanidan (1737–1802) does not even find a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (the relevant volume of which appeared in 1900). Yet Dr. Harris, the author of the monograph, claims him to have been "one of the greatest, if not the greatest of the business-men of the period." This not only indicates the unaccountable obscurity into which his name had fallen—although his memory, and particularly his sobriquet, "Twm Chwarae Teg" (Tom Fair Play) had lingered on vaguely in Wales—but it also illustrates the change in historical attitudes in the last half century, now that industrialists have come to be considered of as much importance as the military men, clerics, and writers who figure most prominently in the *DNB.* Originally a country attorney in Anglesey, Williams became the chief agent of the copper mines of Parys Mountain, near Amlwch, about 1785. A remarkable wealth of copper ore had been found just beneath the surface, so near the surface, in fact, that it could be mined by opencast methods. Williams succeeded in reconciling the conflicting interests of the Anglesey landowners; he developed a great smelting organization with subsidiary industries in various places; he invented a new use for copper, that of sheathing the wooden ships of the Royal Navy, which proved immensely lucrative; he broke the power of the Cornish mineowners, and, for a time, established an almost complete monopoly. The mine became exhausted toward the end of his life, leaving a scene of desolation that still remains and is familiar to all who travel by air from Liverpool to Dublin. Harris' book is not strictly a "biography." There is almost nothing about Williams' personal and family life. That he was a member of Parliament gets the barest mention; there is no reference to his political activities. His association with David Williams, the intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin, is referred to only in a footnote. Industrial processes are dealt with in an appendix; Harris' interests, as indeed those of his subject, lie in the growth of a great commercial organization. As such the monograph is a model of its kind. The coincidence of the growth and decline of the enterprise with Williams' career and death gives his treatment a sense of unity. Yet he also places it firmly in the background of the industrial development of the time, for he is equally familiar with the economic history of Lancashire. It is most unlikely that his work will ever be superseded.

University College of Wales DAVID WILLIAMS

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THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1754–1790. Volume I, INTRODUCTORY SURVEY, CONSTITUENCIES, APPENDICES; Volume II, MEMBERS, A–J; Volume III, MEMBERS, K–Y. By *Sir Lewis Namier* and *John Brooke*. [The History of Parliament.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the History of Parliament Trust. 1964. Pp. xx, 545; viii, 692; viii, 685. $70.60 the set.) Whether or not one agrees with the Younger Pitt that a three-guinea book could never do much harm, he may well question the value of a twenty-three-guinea "History of Parliament" that does not fulfill the promise of its general title. It does to be sure furnish many raw materials for a history of the House of Commons. The history itself still remains to be written, and though its writer must refer to these volumes, they are no more than a foundation on which to build. Historians who deplore emphasis on structure and denigration of policies will find in these volumes their most telling support. The first volume follows an introductory account of constituencies, general elections, and members, with a directory that characterizes the franchise, numbers the voters, names the members, and briefly describes the contests in every constituency. The second and third volumes sketch the members of the best club in England. Behind all this detail stands the conviction that if the insignificant be sufficiently documented it becomes important, and so, too, the story. But is "insignificant" the word? Do our impressions deceive us? A parcel of facts about Milburne Port has little meaning, but many parcels of facts about many Milburne Ports describe an important segment of political history. How many decades have men been talking and writing about pocket boroughs? And how many decades has all this talk been a record grinding away in the next room? But to read that one constituency had twelve electors, eight of whom were related to the "owner," that another, equally small, was the scene of such competition between families that none could control it, and that Salisbury (next door to that hardy perennial, Old Sarum), was a "dignified, independent borough" in which bribery was unknown, is to make concrete what had been cliché. As we learn the limits of electoral bribery, of places and pensions, we appreciate that if there are warts, so the portrait has other features too. What we do not learn is that for all its warts Parliament in these years was governing—and misgoverning too—the first power in the world.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICS IN THE AGE OF WILKES AND BURKE. By *James T. Boulton*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 282. $6.75.) The language of politics subjected in this book to "literary-critical examination" is not that of active politicians but of writers aroused by the political controversies in England during 1769–1771 and 1790–1793. Burke is represented by his *Present Discontents* and *Reflections,* Junius for an obvious reason, Johnson because he engaged in the earlier debate, and Paine, Mackintosh, Godwin, and some others because they replied to the *Reflections*. The writings he examines, says Boulton, have not had this kind of analysis which, a discipline in its own right, assists the historian's understanding of their purposes, contents, and, in the classical meaning, rhetorical effectiveness. By studying literary techniques the critic or the historian should, to use Collingwood's and Carr's phrases as Boulton does, get further "inside of an event" or "behind the act." Boulton helps the reader to do this, but neither so excitingly nor fruitfully as his introduction seems to promise, and in certain instances he tends to overpersuade. Some of his judgments would come to any reasonably careful reader of these writings. That the authors wrote appropriately to their modes of thought and reached their chosen audiences by the means employed, Boulton demonstrates convincingly. But their literary techniques were essentially the ones commonly associated with them. The Johnson of *The False Alarm* is still Samuel Johnson, and the author of *The Rights of Man* is the Tom Paine known for *Common Sense*. Much of what

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Boulton says of them or of Junius or, if one has read them, of Mackintosh and Godwin, is interesting and new mainly because of the detailed illustrations. Some of his judgments produce reactions. It is difficult to think that Godwin's "bold attempt to employ the language of speculative reason" was either quite so bold or so self-conscious as literary analysis seems to suggest. If Burke meant the apostrophe to Marie Antoinette to be "central" to the *Reflections,* carefully prepared for and followed up, a reader may admire his rhetorical skill and noble purpose and yet, as a philosopher or historian, wonder at the Mariology that placed such a burden of thought upon such a shaky reputation. Undoubtedly useful to the historian, literary-critical examination needs to be tempered by the virtue of modesty.

University of Kentucky CARL B. CONE

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES 1770–1812. Volume I, 1770–1789. Edited by *A. Aspinall.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 528. $16.80.) The professor of modern history at Reading has made the late Georgian period his domain and now becomes royal editor in chief. In 1938 his three-volume *Correspondence of George IV* (as regent and king) was published; Cambridge is now issuing his well-documented *Later Correspondence of George III* in five volumes; and the editor's preface to this volume seems to suggest that the Prince of Wales's correspondence will run to four or five volumes. By no means as methodical as his conscientious father, the Prince did not leave as complete or as useful papers; furthermore what did remain was expurgated by his secretaries (Knighton, McMahon, and Bloomfield) and the Duke of Wellington as executor of Mrs. Fitzherbert, one of the Prince's two wives. The documents in this volume are of little interest until we come to the regency crisis. They deal with the odious young man's dissolute character and with his debts. There is much correspondence with his brothers, whom their father tried to keep out of the country away from the debauching influence of Carlton House. The section on the regency crisis is more substantial, including some interesting drafts in Burke's hand and memorandums tentatively attributed to John Robinson, revelatory of their characters; an anonymous attack (Number 399) on Dundas as the real power over Pitt is quite curious. These papers, however, will not change our views on that incident. Professor Aspinall writes nine quite useful short introductions to sections of the correspondence and furnishes interesting annotations. The volume is handsomely printed, reminiscent of ampler days. "It is hoped to print a comprehensive index at the close of the series."

Duke University W. B. HAMILTON

JOHN LEDYARD'S JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN COOK'S LAST VOYAGE. Edited by *James Kenneth Munford.* With an introduction by *Sinclair H. Hitchings.* And with notes on plants by *Helen M. Gilkey* and notes on animals by *Robert M. Storm.* [Oregon State Monographs, Number 3; Studies in History, Number 3.] (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press. 1963. Pp. 1, 264. $6.00.) This is the first reprint since its publication in Hartford in 1783 of a *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of a North-West Passage, Between Asia & America; Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779. Illustrated with a Chart, showing the Tracts of the Ships employed in this Expedition* by John Ledyard. The book preceded by a year the official Admiralty account of Captain James Cook's third voyage. In turn it was preceded by what is now known as John Rickman's work on the expedition, published in London in 1781. All private journals and diaries kept on the voyage were confiscated to ensure priority of publication for the Admiralty book. Nevertheless, surreptitious accounts appeared, Ledyard's among them. Without his original journal Ledyard depended on his memory, obtained details on native customs and so forth from Hawkes-

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worth's book on the first voyage, and dates on itinerary and events from Rickman, whom he followed verbatim from page 170 on. In the first part of his work Ledyard's own observations and remarks are a distinct contribution to the literature on the voyage and Pacific history, and his book may have had some influence in the development of the Northwest coast fur trade. Certainly is was a popular book in America at the time of its publication. The reprint is preceded by a useful and scholarly introduction on Ledyard by Sinclair Hitchings, a fellow Dartmouth man, who is presently curator of prints at Boston Public Library. The first page of the introduction is marred by the name *Endeavour,* Cook's flagship on his first voyage, being twice used instead of *Resolution.* Except for this small lapse, Hitchings has written by far the best account in a few pages that has ever been published on the Connecticut adventurer. The editor has supplied substantial and enlightening notes, and the natural history notes by specialists on plants and animals add to the serviceable character of the book. Since the original edition is excessively rare, this work will be welcomed by all scholars interested in Pacific history.

Peabody Museum of Salem ERNEST S. DODGE

JOHN KEBLE: A STUDY IN LIMITATIONS. By *Georgina Battiscombe.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. xix, 395. $8.50.) This book is an exception to the rule that spiritual biographies should not be written by women. Mrs. Battiscombe regards Keble as a saint, but this is no work of mere hagiography. The contrast with another example of this genre, Meriol Trevor's life of Newman, is striking and instructive. Both ladies have done extensive research, written attractively, produced an intimate picture of the daily lives of their subjects, and been less than profound in their treatment of intellectual matters. But Battiscombe, unlike Trevor, is a critical historian. She is writing a "study in limitations," and she recognizes that Keble was the most limited and least remarkable of the leaders of the Oxford movement. He achieved fame as a poet with the much-loved *Christian Year,* but his poetry has not stood the test of time. The "inspiration" rather than the "instigator" of the Oxford movement, Keble preferred the country parishes of Fairford and Hursley to the arena of Oxford, and his share in the movement's controversies was relatively undistinguished. A stubborn Tory, intellectually indolent, attached to a slowly dying way of life, Keble showed "no perception or understanding of the great problems of the day; he did nothing to bring home to the Church's conscience the vast importance of social issues, nor had he any answer to the argument between science and religion." Yet these limitations were precisely those which characterized the Anglican clergy of the time. Battiscombe argues that Keble's limitations made him more congenial, and hence more effective in spreading the ideals of the movement, than the genius of Newman, the scholarship of Pusey, or the "fitful brilliance" of Hurrell Froude. And, above all, he attracted and influenced men by his sanctity, a "very understated, English type" of sanctity. The author has performed a useful service in rescuing Keble from the shadow of his more brilliant colleagues. Her sensible biography concentrates perhaps too much on the personal and family life of her subject, and she has not reached the profounder depths of intellectual history, but she has at least asked the right questions.

University of Minnesota JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

THE ECONOMICS OF THE WARTIME SHORTAGE: A HISTORY OF BRITISH FOOD SUPPLIES IN THE NAPOLEONIC WAR AND IN WORLD WARS I AND II. By *Mancur Olson, Jr.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1963. Pp. vi, 152. $4.50.) Mancur Olson, Jr., first lieutenant in the United States Air Force, who teaches in the Air Force Academy, has written a short account of some of the efforts made by the British government to cope with the problem of food shortages resulting

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from the reduction of imports during three major wars. The book is divided into six chapters. The opening chapter is entitled "A Theory of Wartime Shortages"; there is a chapter on "Food and Fear of War"; and three chapters deal, respectively, with British experiences during the wars with France, 1793–1814, and the First and Second World Wars. The last chapter is the "Summary and Conclusion." Essentially, Olson's "theory" is his contention that the modern economy is extremely flexible. The more advanced the economy, the more readily it is able, he asserts, to adapt itself to changing and novel situations. The author stresses the advantages of flexibility and the need for political and administrative competence, but he is less clear how it was achieved and how it may be realized in the future. The author states that the "theories and facts presented in this study have, if correct, a number of wider implications for other problems and other countries," but he presents little to guide us. By the last paragraph, he, himself, stresses the probability that the next great war, if it should occur, would be "much different" from the preceding wars. Therefore "a nation's need for a resourceful, disciplined, and well managed people would reach unprecedented heights." He does not specify who is to do the disciplining and the managing. It is true, as we are told, that "no one has summarized" the literature, "much less made any systematic study of the common problem which Britain encountered in all three wars." Such a study is still needed.

Brooklyn College SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

BRITAIN AND THE CONGO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Roger Anstey*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 260. $6.10.) Dr. Anstey has skillfully woven together many strands of interest and documentation to construct his *Britain and the Congo in the Nineteenth Century*. Early chapters assess the paramountcy —naval, commercial, and missionary—that the British possessed from the 1840's to the 1870's, when the lower Congo was a British interest commensurate with that on the Niger coast. But, necessarily, most of the book is concerned with the decade from 1876 onward, when first Belgian activities and then French recognition of De Brazza's activities precipitated partition. The British participation in Leopold's early schemes, evinced more by Mackinnon, Hutton, and Kirk than by Stanley, and its role in mobilizing opinion against the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1884, are both well brought out. A chapter on the abortive attempt of Mackinnon and his friends to secure from Leopold the concession to build the Congo railway, on terms that would have afforded an open door to the British mercantile interest, illustrates the thinking behind their opposition to the treaty. The other side of the picture is perhaps rather less explicit. More attention might have been paid to the intriguing question of why the earlier British paramountcy did not lead to a Nigerian type of empire. Anstey seems to rely for an answer on the vital shift in British policy toward Portugal in 1882. He shows, moreover, that this shift had already been foreshadowed in Morier's scheming and (as early as the 1850's) by Wylde, though this is evidence only of an underlying ambiguity in Britain's attitude toward Portugal in Africa. But had the earlier British naval, commercial, and missionary supremacy on the Congo led, as it did so logically in Nigeria, to a consular jurisdiction (actually suggested at the eleventh hour, in 1882, by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce), the whole history of the partition might have been radically different. Perhaps historians should not deal in "ifs"; nevertheless a full evaluation of the mid-century British position in the Congo and the ways in which it differed from that on the Niger would have been illuminating. But this, together with the fact that, the title notwithstanding, nothing is said about developments after 1890, is a minor criticism to make of a most valuable book.

University of Birmingham J. D. FAGE

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THE EARLIER LETTERS OF JOHN STUART MILL, 1812–1848. In two volumes. Edited by *Francis E. Mineka,* with an introduction by *F. A. Hayek*. [Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volumes XII and XIII.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. xxvii, 366; 368–784. $20.00 the set.) Professor Mineka of Cornell University has edited, in two volumes, 536 letters that John Stuart Mill wrote from 1812 to 1848. The correspondence, and the admirable editorial notes accompanying it, increases our knowledge both of Mill's mind and of the intellectual world of which he was such an important part. It is indeed as a picture of that intellectual world more than as a delineation of Mill's mind that these letters and editorial notes have an original value. They do not really change that portrait of Mill which Mill's biographers and Mill himself have so fully drawn. The same intellectual virtues so charmingly described in his *Autobiography* are once more revealed in his correspondence. Here again is that most tolerant and rational of minds, catholic and open in its sympathies, clear and logical in its distinctions, radical and courageous in its ideas, and humane and idealistic in its aspirations. But, if the letters do not change the main outlines of his portrait, they do fill it out more fully and add some new shadings. His letter to William Lovett, for example, shows a sympathy for Chartism not previously known, while some of his comments on contemporary politics reveal that the critic of intellectual one-sidedness was passionately one-sided in politics. And the philosopher who was so wise about ideas could be unwise about political events. He predicted in 1832 that there would be no bishops in the House of Lords by 1838, and shortly before Peel's government fell in 1835, he predicted that it would be a lasting one. His sanguine expectations that the Radicals could form a party separate from the Whigs also suggests a lack of sophistication about practical politics. But the value of his correspondence lies far more in his description of the intellectual rather than the political scene. Mill as editor and author commented on all of the principal and most of the secondary thinkers of his day, the men who as editors, journalists, economists, philosophers, essayists, and poets defined that age's climate of opinion. What could be more illuminating than to see into an age through the clear, incisive, and always active mind of one of its wisest thinkers? These letters, edited with such thoroughness, allow the reader to do just that.

Dartmouth College DAVID ROBERTS

THE CAMBRIDGE MOVEMENT: THE ECCLESIOLOGISTS AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL. By *James F. White*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 272. $6.00.) "Give us thirty-eight young men dedicated to the cause of church architecture, and we shall alter the structure, the worship, the furnishings, and the ideals of the Anglican church." This was in effect the plea by and to a group of Cambridge students, and they met the challenge beyond their wildest dreams. In 1839 they organized the Cambridge Camden Society, enlisted the support of leaders such as John Mason Neale, Benjamin Webb, A. J. B. Hope, Edward Boyce, and Archdeacon Thomas Thorp, and in 1841 began the publication of the *Ecclesiologist*. This militant, dogmatic, and zealous group of young men were true romantics, who promoted with single-mindedness their ideals of feeling, life, beauty, intuition, and harmony. With almost a naïve nostalgia they venerated a golden age (1250–1400) that embodied the Gothic pointed architecture and decorated style. To them the Holy Spirit was more efficacious in the fourteenth than the nineteenth century. Although they pretended to avoid doctrinal questions, their voice was that of Tractarian Oxford. In-season and out-of-season, they printed tracts, plans, schemes, manuals, and books espousing their views. Wonderful to behold was their omniscience, their brashness, and their commitment. In their list of architects condemned was none other than Charles Barry, architect of the House of Commons. It is not surprising, therefore, that they encountered powerful opposition from professors and prelates, from architects and liturgists, from evangelists and poets

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They persisted, nevertheless, despite crises, splits, and resignations. They opposed organs, pews, galleries, originality, brick, cement, and funeral monuments; they favored fonts, screens, chancels, pure stone, and segregation of sexes during worship. One of their great writers was Neale—linguist, liturgist, and theologian, lover of music, of propriety, and of antiquity—for whom some 246 items are listed in the British Museum Catalogue. When he died in 1866 at the age of forty-eight, a part of the Cambridge Camden Society died with him, but through the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society and its successor the work goes on. The battle for ecclesiastical design, proper church arrangement, and dignified ritual was won not only in England, but in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. Mr. White has given us a fascinating story. His categories at times are too clean, too pure, too exclusive, but he has entertained and informed us, and he has demonstrated once more the power of a militant ideal, suffused with knowledge and energized by zealous devotion.

Claremont Graduate School LELAND H. CARLSON

THE PALLISER EXPEDITION: AN ACCOUNT OF JOHN PALLISER'S BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN EXPEDITION 1857–1860. By *Irene M. Spry.* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York. 1963. Pp. vi, 310. $7.50.) Captain Palliser's report of his exploration of western British North America was printed in 1863. Comparatively rare, this British government Blue Book has been the cherished possession of a few libraries and, though microcards are available, there has been no reprinting. Mrs. Spry has now produced the first popular account of Palliser and his expedition. The famous *Report* is by no means easy to read, for it consists of a series of "journals, detailed reports, and observations," recorded not only by Palliser himself but by his colleagues, Hector, the physician-geologist, Eugene Bourgeau, the botanist, Sullivan, the astronomer and secretary, and Thomas Blakiston of the Royal Artillery, the magnetic observer. Spry has set herself the task of writing the book that Palliser himself thought of writing as a sequel to his account of his earlier trip to the upper Missouri, *Solitary Rambles and Adventures of a Hunter in the Prairies.* Using the *Report* as a basis, she has produced a more or less continuous narrative, from which there emerges a clear picture of where the various members of the expedition went and what they found. Her narrative would be even easier to follow if the maps had not been bound into the book in such a way as to make them singularly difficult to use. It is also regrettable that the author has not provided a bibliography, though she refers in her preface to the use of a variety of sources other than the Blue Book of 1863. Palliser emerges as a genial Anglo-Irishman with a taste for adventure and a gift for organization. He got on well not only with his men and his colleagues but also with the people of the West, whether Hudson's Bay Company factors or Blackfoot braves. The exception, of course, was Blakiston, the starchy artillery officer who finally, to the perplexity of the British authorities, separated himself from Palliser's command, though he completed his exploration and submitted a valuable report. Possibly there is something to be said on Blakiston's side. Palliser seems to have been a remarkably permissive leader, seldom inclined to insist on his own way. Even so the fact that he and his companions were able to move safely and freely through a country reputedly so dangerous testifies to his effectiveness.

University of Alberta L. G. THOMAS

NEW HORIZONS: A HUNDRED YEARS OF WOMEN'S MIGRATION. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. x, 180. $3.50 postpaid.) Based on the records of the Women's Migration and Overseas Appointment Society, recently marking its centenary, this book contains valuable material of some interest for Victorian social history and for empire settle-

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ment. The present society descends from the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, founded in 1862 by Miss Maria Rye and Miss Jane Lewin, with Lord Shaftesbury as its first president. The first and last chapters trace the history of the society; intervening chapters tell of the experiences of the women settlers themselves in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and, in the twentieth century, in various parts of Africa. These letters sent to the London office describing life in the colonies, as well as the vocational hazards of being a governess, a schoolteacher, a nurse, a housekeeper, or a domestic servant, have been skillfully woven into an absorbing narrative. For a rounded view of emigration, which considers both the background at home and the adjustments abroad, this is a book of significant source material. The personal stories, episodic and unfinished as they are, of courage, of realism, of the discarding of the narrow class lines of home are often very moving. There are, of course, failures as well as successes. Most of all, however, one is charmed with the spirit, character, and enterprise of the women who helped other women through the mazes and difficulties of emigration. Rye's letter from Australia in 1865, analyzing the character required to move from one society to another, goes a long way toward explaining why she was herself the founder of so successful an enterprise.

Connecticut College HELEN F. MULVEY

VERANDAH. SOME EPISODES IN THE CROWN COLONIES: 1867–1889. By *James Pope-Hennessy*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. x, 387, x. $6.95.) *Verandah* is the personal history of the twenty-two-year career of the "stormy petrel" of the colonial service, Sir John Pope-Hennessy. The author maintains his objectivity in viewing the activities of his distinguished grandfather. Pope-Hennessy was an engaging, complex personality who served as governor of Labuan, Bermuda, the African west coast settlements, Hong Kong, and Mauritius successively. In each area he created a furor by refusing to accept the *status quo* and attempted to alter long-established practices and policies in a short time, thus alienating his staff and powerful interest groups in the colonies. Much of the tension was caused by his sympathy toward the native peoples. He often erred, as in his blind trust of the Ashanti, but his attitude reflected his concern for the welfare of all and not just the privileged few. His impatience with red tape, his conviction that he was always right, and his distance from his superiors effected quick change, but also caused constant irritation. The Colonial Office, although not the central theme of the book, is commented upon continually. Its small staff was called upon to make major decisions for territories little known and imperfectly understood. The governors, selected partially for ability and partially for politics, were better known to the Colonial Office which generally deferred to their judgment. The author presents a good case that Pope-Hennessy was being used as their cat's-paw in three of the colonies. The office was fully aware of both his abilities and his potential for trouble. The work contains a number of minor errors: considering Abeokuta as the capital of "Yoruba" and overemphasizing Pope-Hennessy's role in Sierra Leone. Lack of sufficient background detail, a fault of most biographies, is *Verandah*'s major weakness. Each phase of Pope-Hennessy's career could well become a book that would provide a deeper insight into the mechanisms of colonial policy in the nineteenth century. The book provides, nevertheless, a brief glimpse at the system and shows that imperialism was not a simple, centralized force, but a kaleidoscope of interrelated factors, not the least of which was the human.

San Jose State College HARRY A. GAILEY, JR.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF J. X. MERRIMAN. Volume I, 1870–1890; Volume II, 1890–1898. Edited by *Phyllis Lewsen*. [Van Riebeeck Society Publications, Numbers 41 and 44.] (Cape Town: the Society. 1960; 1963. Pp. xxi, 318;

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xv, 349.) Once more the Van Riebeeck Society has published volumes of useful documents. In editing them, Phyllis Lewsen has used an impressive number of primary and secondary sources to make these papers intelligible to those who are not specialists in the history of Cape Colony. John X. Merriman played an active, often a controversial, part in Cape politics from his entry into Parliament in 1869. There is much material in these volumes on colonial politics in the period to the general election of 1898. On British policy, and on federation, there is correspondence with James Bryce, H. O. Arnold Forster, Sir Bartle Frere, General Gordon, Viscount Goschen, Sir Hercules Robinson, and Professor Goldwin Smith. Unfortunately, however, there are few letters to and from politicians like J. H. Hofmeyr, J. W. Sauer, and Cecil Rhodes. An able but difficult colleague—"a champion wrecker of Cabinets," one contemporary said in 1897—and an apostle of "sound" finance, Merriman had much in common with a noted English contemporary, Sir William Harcourt. In the eighties, Merriman, a "Cape liberal," came out in favor of annexation of both Basutoland and the Transkei by Britain, largely because he did not think that self-governing colonies were capable of governing large African populations. He resisted with partial success the reduction of the political rights of natives, but as the South African War approached, he adopted increasingly a pro-Boer point of view which he had not held twenty years before. Like his distinguished contemporary liberal, James Rose Innes, he was forced to choose between white political groups: "If we split up [he wrote to Innes on March 6, 1896] you will form an English Party that will have capital on its side, and the result will be a recrudescence of Boerdom with all its prejudices accentuated. . . ." Unlike Innes, however, he chose to break with British colonists, an act of ethnic treason that made him subject to much vilification. Merriman had strong views on most things, with the Radical tendency to define his views by those policies and persons to whom he was opposed. He was a dedicated "South African" long before Union, strongly opposed to imperial initiative in the "internal" affairs of the colonies and republics of South Africa. He was, therefore, unwilling to look for allies outside South Africa: he was as hostile to "Exeter Hall" meddling as he was to that by the Imperial government. Furthermore, much of his later thought and action had its origins in his opposition to Rhodes and the "capitalism" that he represented. Lewsen's selection gives much material on many issues. It certainly provokes one to ponder once more why Englishmen ceased to produce major leaders in South Africa and why they failed to create the Anglicized South Africa that Merriman believed would come. Why, moreover, was the English liberal tradition already withering before the South Africa Act of 1909 put a clear limit to its growth? Merriman's papers are full of prophetic insights, but also of major misjudgments, which may explain his limited success. These two volumes whet the appetite for selections to cover perhaps the most interesting period of all: the South African War and the creation of the Union.

Boston University JEFFREY BUTLER

EMPIRE BY TREATY: BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *M. A. Fitzsimons.* [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 235. $6.00.) Britain's declining role in the Middle East since the end of the Second World War has become, in the scholarly world, a subject far out of proportion to its intrinsic significance. The number of books dealing with the subject, already including the studies by George Kirk, John Marlowe, and Elizabeth Monroe, has now been increased by Professor Fitzsimons' study, *Empire by Treaty.* This work treats in rather brief scope the establishment of British imperial control in the Middle East, largely at the conclusion of the First World War, and by means of treaties with nominally independent rulers. The Second World War and its

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aftermath witnessed the breakup of this empire, most signally indicated in British withdrawal from Palestine and the Suez Canal crisis of 1956. Fitzsimons' chapters on the Suez crisis are disappointing as he devotes most of his efforts to a narration of the events of this crucial period, by now rather well known, and little time to an interpretation of these events. Through it all the author seems to indicate less sympathy for Eden's approach to Nasser's nationalization of the canal than for Dulles' policies. On the whole this book adds little to the previous diplomatic histories of the Middle East, although it does recount events of recent vintage. It is not based on any hitherto unutilized sources. Furthermore, it is noticeably weak in presenting materials on the internal dynamics of Middle Eastern politics. No exhaustive study of Middle Eastern diplomacy of the post-World War II era can any longer fail to discuss domestic tensions within Middle Eastern states and in interested external powers, notably Britain, the United States, and Russia, as dominant influences in the diplomatic situation.

Princeton University ROBERT L. TIGNOR

BRITISH POLITICS IN THE SUEZ CRISIS. By *Leon D. Epstein.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 220. $5.00.) The pitfalls of contemporary history are well known. Consequently, historians are often ready to leave the task to others, including political scientists. When the results are as good as Epstein's book, it is cause for general rejoicing. The author sets out to examine "the functioning of the [British] political system in response to the Suez issue." He concerns himself with the facts of the Middle East crisis and the details of British policy only for the purposes of establishing the context in which the parties and Parliament worked. He gives considerable attention to the dissident minorities in each party: the small group of Conservatives who opposed Sir Anthony Eden's resort to force; the somewhat larger "Suez Group," whose quarrel with the Prime Minister was that he did not resort to it sooner and persist in it longer; the one Labour member of Parliament who lost his seat for having supported the government's venture openly, Stanley Evans. Among other subjects investigated are public opinion polls and the response of constituency parties to any sign of deviation from party loyalty on the part of their M.P.'s. The dominant theme throughout is the intensity of the partisan response on both sides. Contrary to widespread belief, Labour voters seem to have remained only marginally less loyal to their party's stand during the crisis than were Conservatives. Ironically, after it was over, the Suez venture grew still more popular with Tory voters, and less unpopular with Labour supporters, than it had been before its failure had been demonstrated. Without access to cabinet documents, Epstein can tell us little about policy making; he cannot say, for example, whether back bench pressure from anti-Suez Conservatives contributed to the government's decision to break off fighting in the area of the canal, although he notes that no such claim has been made, even in private conversations with these men. He has much that is interesting to say about the dying embers of British imperialism, however. The "Suez Group" was by no means exclusively composed of reactionaries in terms of domestic policies, but in foreign affairs its members were unrealistic to a remarkable degree. They were also inclined toward the conspiratorial view of history: they believed that devious American statesmen were out to rob Britain of its proper place in the sun. Epstein's prose is economical, his tone detached but sympathetic, his judgment shrewd and alert. This is an admirable monograph.

Stanford University RICHARD W. LYMAN

PARIS ET ÎLE-DE-FRANCE: MÉMOIRES. Volume XIII, 1962. (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck for the Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France. 1963. Pp. 360.) The volume begins with Miss Hélène Verlet's list of Roman potters' stamps found on artifacts unearthed in Paris between 1956 and 1960.

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Durand-Lefèbvre's monumental work on the same subject is thus kept up to date by adding about twenty hitherto unknown signatures and listings of those stamps found on other artifacts before. Each stamp is reproduced so that the reader may decipher for himself, and then he may wonder, thanks to Verlet's footnotes on where previous similar signatures have been found, how and why works by the same potter are found in such diffuse places as the Rhineland, Paris, and southern France. The second article, by Jean-Louis Bourgeon, is on the *Île de la Cité* during the *Fronde*. It is an excellent study made from notarial records of the contemporary terms for each social group, their hierarchy, economic life, geography, housing, number, and political notions of the Parisians living around Notre Dame and the *palais. Honorable homme, marchand, bourgeois de Paris, mademoiselle, sieur,* and so on are defined by describing the fortunes and ideas of their bearers. Wealth was clearly the basis for distinctions beneath the bourgeois, then other considerations come in. Dowries, investments, trades, the location of shops, and patterns of daily life put these groups together, but separate on a ladder of status open toward the top rung and closed toward the bottom. For all the differences, however, between fruit merchants, spice sellers, silversmiths, and so on, and despite the differences in wealth and status that they recognized themselves, "les marchands constituent dans la Cité un milieu homogène et ont une mentalité propre." They scorned artisans, remained tightfisted even when rich, avoided ostentation, lived in only a few rooms while owning the whole house, bought pews in churches, and invested in a specific way. Bourgeon describes many other groups in an equally illuminating and precise manner. War in the 1630's caused house rents to decline, as did merchant incomes and the purchase of *rentes,* making grievances manifested in the *Fronde* much more comprehensible. Bourgeon quarrels with Kossman's conclusion that the bourgeois in the *cité* remained loyal during the crucial days of 1648 by proving to my satisfaction that an "exceptional coalition between the majority of the bourgeoisie and the *petit peuple*" occurred. The third article, on the taille in the Paris region in the eighteenth century, is by Jean Guerout. It is at once a brilliant description of approximately eleven thousand taille rolls, the history of the levying and collecting of the tax, and an appreciation of this source for numerous other important topics. Guerout's administrative history should serve as a model for those who seek to change interpretations of classic problems even while concentrating on just one thread of the past. His discussion of who was exempt from the taille, combined with his analysis of the various reforms in levying the tax, makes a whole aspect of government coherent for the first time. No historian interested in the *ancien régime* can afford to ignore these brilliant and well-written monographs because their authors have said much on general problems even while treating particular ones.

Columbia University OREST RANUM

LES SOULÈVEMENTS POPULAIRES EN FRANCE DE 1623 À 1648. By *Boris Porchnev.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Œuvres étrangères, Volume IV.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963. Pp. 679.) The French translation of Professor Boris Porchnev's controversial work on the popular revolts of the first part of the seventeenth century makes its appearance fifteen years after the Russian original and a decade after the East German translation. It is mainly the work of Robert Mandrou, who asserts in his preface that the *Centre de recherches historiques* long delayed this project in the belief that the French Communist historians would want the honor of translating the lengthy work of their Russian colleague. Some Western scholars doubtless regret the decision to present Porchnev's work to French readers as something more than an elaborate effort to force French history into the Marxist strait jacket. Porchnev's critics accuse him of precisely the same blindness and prejudice that he sees in their works. But one thing is certain: this is easily the most

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intensive study made thus far of a long-neglected phase of French history. It utilizes a source (the Séguier papers in Leningrad) that has for a century and a half been either unknown or untapped by historians. The urban and rural revolts of three decades emerge from Porchnev's researches as purely spontaneous uprisings of the exploited and poverty-stricken *peuple* against a "front" of royalists, landed aristocrats, bourgeoisie, and churchmen. The social structure he depicts would strike most Western historians as anachronistic in that it is still allegedly dominated (the King included) by the feudal aristocracy. While Western historians would disagree with many of the author's theories and conclusions, international scholarship remains indebted to Porchnev for the mass of information and fresh insights he presents. His book has stirred up considerable interest in the subject; more work has been done on seventeenth-century popular revolts in the last decade than in all previous times. The translation is a good one, and the French edition has provided several useful maps pinpointing the uprisings year by year.

University of Notre Dame LEON BERNARD

L'ABBÉ LE ROY ET SES AMIS: ESSAI SUR LE JANSÉNISME EXTRÉMISTE INTRAMONDAIN. By *G. Namer*. Preface by *L. Goldmann*. [Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1964. Pp. 208.) The study of the complex phenomenon known as French Jansenism has now reached the point where it is possible to identify and analyze the various crosscurrents and subdivisions within the movement. This has been made possible to a large extent by the extremely valuable publications of Jean Orcibal and the very different, philosophically oriented studies of Lucien Goldmann. The present work was clearly inspired by Goldmann's example, and is, in fact, little more than an addendum to his publications. Briefly, it is Goldmann's thesis that when the French Jansenists were required to sign the formulary concerning the five propositions of Jansen, they subdivided into three distinct groups. First, there was a central group led by Arnauld and Nicole who sought compromise between submission and defense of the truth in the famous distinction between right and fact; second, a group inspired by Barcos who refused to submit, but also rejected agitation for the cause of truth; and third, a group that was led by the Abbé Le Roy who not only refused all compromise with the truth, but gladly sought to do battle for it in both the Church and the world at large. The last are the subject of Namer's book. In analyzing the theoretical position of Le Roy and his followers, Namer successfully expounds their reasons for refusing to submit to any authority whatsoever at the expense of their concept of religious truth. Unlike many Jansenists who sought retreat from the world, this group held that men were destined to remain in it and to suffer, as a recognition of God's dictates. The world was a divinely assigned place of perpetual combat between truth and sin, where true Christians had no hope of victory except through God's miraculous support in their defeat and suffering. The Church itself should demonstrate its militancy by combat, afflictions, and torment. The position was, according to Namer, at once a "theology of defeat" and an "extrémisme intramondain" that required its adherents to battle for the truth even against the highest ecclesiastical authorities at the risk of schism. Namer shows how Le Roy and to a lesser extent his followers repeatedly utilized such arguments to justify their refusals to sign the formulary between 1661 and 1669. The delineation of Le Roy's doctrinal position is the heart of the book and is thoroughly documented with extensive materials from manuscript sources. To this extent, Namer has performed a valuable service in illuminating one phase of Jansenism. Beyond this, however, the book is lacking. To divide the Jansenists into three distinct groups may serve as a convenient approach to the movement, but it is artificial and obscures historical reality. By the author's demonstration, Le Roy's followers consisted only of Jacqueline Pascal and Nicolas Perrault (both died in 1661), the nuns of Port Royal, and several priests, with only incidental

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adherence by any other persons of consequence. This is hardly a coherent group and seems to be the result of a search for philosophical types. Ultimately, each Jansenist must be studied in terms of his personal experience and convictions. Also, Namer presents only vague, unsupported hints concerning the acceptance of Le Roy's brand of Jansenism among such important elements of society as the *noblesse de robe,* and his effort to interpret Racine's *Athalie* as an expression of Jansenist "extrémisme intramondain" is not convincing. The book therefore makes an important but limited contribution to knowledge of the intricacies within the Jansenist movement.

Brown University WILLIAM F. CHURCH

THE ROOTS OF FRENCH REPUBLICANISM: THE EVOLUTION OF THE REPUBLICAN IDEAL IN FRENCH-REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND ITS CULMINATION IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1793. By *James M. Moore.* (New York: American Press. 1962. Pp. 344. $7.50.) Dr. Moore has provided a useful synthesis of French Revolutionary republicanism, based upon published sources and secondary works. Despite an extensive bibliography using the latest American and English works, he has noticeably ignored French scholarship since 1938 and overlooked such well-known specialists as Jacques Godechot and Georges Lefebvre, using only *The Coming of the French Revolution.* Parts of the text might have gained had Moore consulted manuscript materials at the *Archives Nationales,* as for example on the Convention and its committees, rather than reliance on partisan secondary works or on memoirs published during the hostile restoration era. Although never clearly defined, "republic" as used by Moore means government by the people through a democratically representative legislature. I would have liked more attention devoted to the decline of monarchy and to the role of an elected executive—a feature of twentieth-century republicanism, if not of the eighteenth. Among significant contributions of the book are the summary of republican ideas in eighteenth-century writings, especially of Bayle and Condorcet, and the influence of the philosophes on revolutionary constitutional principles. Chapter II, "American Republicanism and French Thought," has assembled, from widely scattered publications, material on the transmission of American thought and experience to French revolutionaries. The contents of many long footnotes should have been incorporated into the exposition. In my opinion, however, American influence and the roles of Brissot, Paine, and Condorcet have been overemphasized as compared with French precedents. Analyses of various declarations of rights, revolutionary constitutions, suffrage and representative legislatures, and of federalism are also valuable contributions. In several places, important material has been relegated to footnotes. Though Moore recognized the weakening of the republic and the Constitution of 1793 by time lost in Girondist-Jacobin attacks on each other, the reviewer cannot concur in the portrayal of Robespierre as always scheming for dictatorial power, nor in the implication that a Jacobin dictatorship destroyed the first democratic republic in the summer of 1793. Moore glossed over the war, the treason of Dumouriez, and wartime need of a strong central government versus federalism. These developments were, however, crucial to the establishment of central organs responsible to the Convention and to the undermining of Girondist leadership and federalism. Despite various reservations, this volume is a distinct addition to studies on French constitutional development.

Hunter College BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

ESSAI SUR LA RÉPARTITION DE LA PROPRIÉTÉ FONCIÈRE DANS LA RÉGION ALPINE: SON ÉVOLUTION DES ORIGINES DU CADASTRE À LA FIN DU SECOND EMPIRE. By *Philippe Vigier.* Preface by *Pierre Léon.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI° Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Number 8.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963. Pp. 275.) Recently, several

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French scholars have produced massive doctoral *thèses* dealing with their country's local or regional history in the nineteenth century, as, P. Leuilliot on Alsace, G. Dupeux on Loir-et-Cher, and P. Barral on Isère. In the same stream, M. Vigier's *Essai* is the *thèse complémentaire* of his two-volume *La Seconde République dans la région Alpine* (1963). While the *thèse principale* concerns political and social developments, the present monograph examines the size of landholdings from the 1820's to 1870. The region considered comprises five departments between the Rhone and the Alps, of which Isère is the most important. The task was not easy for this heterogeneous area. The author began with the cadastre or list of properties drawn up for each commune, most of which date from the 1820's or 1830's. Of the 1,500 communes involved he has studied 680. To clarify this mass of information he chose six typical or model communes, ranging from a mountainside where most of the land was communally owned and the rest divided into small plots, to a fertile plain along the Rhone where a few large landholdings were scattered among many small properties. Most of the communes studied resemble one or another of these models. He also examines the issue of differentiating large, medium, and small holdings with a thoughtful analysis. After describing the situation as indicated by the original cadastres, a process that requires most of the book, Vigier is most interesting in the section setting forth subsequent changes until 1870. The general trend, although variations were legion, was for a further breakup of larger holdings into small ones. This movement, which extended back before the Great Revolution, usually was most advanced in the more prosperous areas. As to the causation of the "morselization" of landed property, the author hardly mentions the influence of the Napoleonic Code's inheritance laws (and he is in good company here). Nor is the effect of changing agricultural methods and crops discussed in detail. He prefers to emphasize a frenetic desire for rural land among the bourgeoisie and peasants before 1846. This was followed in the mid-century depression years by the necessity for many landowners of all classes to sell part or all of their holdings. The movement apparently slowed down during the Second Empire. The strongest point of the book is its display of methods to approach the difficult problem of the nature and dynamics of rural landholding. It is weakened by the author's frequent elimination of economic forces from consideration, although when it is read in conjunction with his *thèse principale* a more complete picture emerges.

University of Cincinnati JAMES M. LAUX

ROMEINSE BESCHEIDEN VOOR DE GESCHIEDENIS DER ROOMS-KATHOLIEKE KERK IN NEDERLAND, 1727–1853. Volume II, 1754–1795. Edited by *P. Polman, O.F.M.* [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie, Number 110.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1963. Pp. xix, 927.) The period covered in this volume begins with 1754 because in that year a new papal nuncio was appointed to take charge of the Dutch mission, with headquarters in Brussels. The editor consulted thirty-seven depositories of documents, besides a large number of secondary works. Unfortunately Polman did not publish all of the important documents, in which cases he presented brief summaries in the Dutch language. Included is one concerning a decree passed by the Provincial Estates of Holland prohibiting mixed marriages. The action was taken to please a wealthy citizen who did not want his only daughter to marry a Roman Catholic. Here we have evidence of the continued union of church and state resulting from the Reformation, contrary to the opinion of many experts in the United States. Not all of the documents were written by clergymen. There are, for example, two from the pens of civil servants in Curaçao and one from the military governor of Coevorden regarding the building of a new Roman Catholic Church there. The whole collection reflects the rising tide of religious toleration. In nearly all aspects the volume has been com-

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petently executed. It has great value for American historians since the government of the United Provinces became a worthy model for that of the new nation called the United States.

University of Michigan ALBERT HYMA

LANGRAND-DUMONCEAU, PROMOTEUR D'UNE PUISSANCE FINANCIÈRE CATHOLIQUE. Volume III, VERS L'APOGÉE—2. ORGANISATION ET OPÉRATIONS. By *G. Jacquemyns.* [Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1963. Pp. 576. 300 fr. B.) With this third fat volume Jacquemyns has carried his story of Langrand, the Belgian company promoter, to the eve of disaster in 1870. Langrand himself emerges here more clearly than before; he becomes believable. His "Catholic financial power" also comes partially out of the shadows, but it appears so insubstantial, so much a sham, a bait to catch the unwary, that the subtitle of the study seems hardly justified. The earlier question persists: was Langrand sufficiently important to merit such lengthy treatment? The answer now is "No"; the law of diminishing returns is clearly functioning. Langrand's associates could protest at the end that their chief was no *chevalier d'industrie,* cheating the yokels out of a few hard-earned shillings, yet basically this was Langrand's game in that inflationary, stockjobbing world of mid-century. His estate purchases and mortgage operations in Hungary undoubtedly helped some of the Magyar playboys in their roles of *grands seigneurs,* possibly to the ghostly approval of Mandeville. Perhaps, indeed, his foreign aid program in the backward areas of the middle Danube was more quickly helpful to the recently emancipated serfs, if not to Belgian investors, than our more grandiose programs among the peons of the Alliance for Progress. Yet the evidence adduced in these massive volumes leaves one doubtful of any permanent importance of Langrand's operations. One must regret that the author did not choose a subject more worthy of his tireless efforts. There is much we want to know about the extraordinary economic development of nineteenth-century Belgium and much that can be known even while many business archives remain closed.

University of Vermont PAUL D. EVANS

LEOPOLD III AND THE BELGIAN ROYAL QUESTION. By *E. Ramón Arango.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. [1963.] Pp. xiv, 234. $6.00.) Seeking essentially to evaluate the arguments presented for and against the abdication of Leopold III in the 1940's and to appraise the results of the "Royal Question" on the Belgian constitution, the author has produced a dramatic and frankly interpretive study with which many historians can and will quarrel. The importance of such a pioneering effort as this, however, lies less in its definitive than in its heuristic character. Professor Arango here lays excellent foundations upon which later historians can build when current passions cool and more detailed evidence becomes available. According to the author, Belgium was created in 1831 from elements so deeply diverse that national unity demanded a strong monarchy. With the appearance of universal suffrage and disciplined political parties fifty years later, control shifted to Parliament (though without constitutional alteration). Then in the 1930's and the 1940's Leopold III was confronted with an unusual amount of governmental instability and disunity at the very time the approaching world war demanded strong national unity. The King thereupon increasingly sought to reassert royal leadership until in May 1940 he even refused to follow the government into exile, surrendered himself and his army to the Germans, and remained in Belgium. Although Arango absolves the King from the often leveled charge of traitorous conduct, he cannot overlook the arrogance that prompted Leopold to refuse abdication after the war when the reassembled Parliament vindicated the government and, by indirection, condemned the King. This precipitated a series of crises, elections, and eventually a "na-

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tional consultation" in most of which the Catholic party (Leopoldite) was victorious. The King's return, however, brought on a general strike that soon threatened civil war and caused all parties to agree to replace Leopold by his son, Baudouin. The author concludes that the Belgian monarchy became primarily symbolic as other European monarchies had long been and that constitutional change cannot be forced by a majority over the opposition of a strong minority. Major weaknesses are the author's failure to recognize many closely parallel precedents in Belgian history (such as all the franchise agitations), his grossly oversimplified identification of Walloon with Socialist and Fleming with Catholic, and his failure to consult Flemish sources.

Montana State University ALLAN H. KITTELL

ETELÄ-POHJANMAAN VALTAMERENTAKAINEN SIIRTOLAISUUS, 1867–1930. By *Anna-Leena Toivonen*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 66.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1963. Pp. 294.) During the years 1867–1930 over 361,000 Finns emigrated overseas, chiefly to the United States and to Canada during the last two decades. Of these, 30 per cent came from South Ostrobothnia, a province in west central Finland made up of four towns (Vaasa the largest), twenty-two Finnish-speaking and twenty Swedish-speaking communes. In some localities the emigration rate reached 7.3 per thousand population, compared to a national average of 2.1. Miss Anna-Leena Toivonen's doctoral thesis is an excellent analysis not only of this region's various emigrant classes but of the economic, social, political, and cultural forces responsible for the rise and spread of the highly contagious America fever. The appeals of the New World, she concludes, largely economic, were more influential than such "pushing" forces as the decline of the tar, shipbuilding, fishing, and handicraft industries, the existence for a time of a population surplus, opposition to military service, and the fears engendered by Russification. The South Ostrobothnians, it is suggested, were disposed both by temperament and tradition to cross the Atlantic; like their forebears, energetic, restless, freedom loving, they sought employment even in distant places. On balance emigration proved to be an economic blessing rather than a loss; the author estimates that the emigrants sent back to the province no less than 42,200,000 marks during some eight decades. In a concluding chapter Toivonen reviews the arguments over emigration; initially highly polemical, they reveal a growing understanding of the movement's causes and consequences. The volume includes an essay on the extensive sources (including 150 interviews mostly with returned emigrants and 108 America letters), statistical tables, charts, maps, and an English-language summary. It sets a high standard for other investigations currently under way in Finland.

Heidelberg College JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

DIE DEUTSCHE NATION: ERGEBNIS DER GESCHICHTE. By *Werner Conze*. [Die deutsche Frage in der Welt, Number 1.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1963. Pp. 167. DM 7.50.) SELBSTBESTIMMUNG: VOM WEG EINER IDEE DURCH DIE GESCHICHTE. By *Paul Kluke*. [Die deutsche Frage in der Welt, Number 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1963. Pp. 166. DM 7.50.) These two essays are significant contributions, not because they provide the informed reader with new information but because they begin a new series reinterpreting the German question in the light of the realities of 1963. Among the fundamental questions of German history are those of what, where, and when. What is meant by the term "Germany," precisely where is it, and when did its history begin? Professor Conze's work thoughtfully considers these questions. He avoids the traditional historical concept of "Germany," which proved to be nearly a fatal legacy to that nation in recent times; he defines Germany as a people who came to feel like Germans over a millennium of history; he does not confuse this Germany of the Germans with the Holy Roman Empire; he discounts the

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latter as a medieval confederation of princes whose historical frontiers did not coincide with the German language and nationality frontiers. Conze sketches the evolution of German national sentiment from the eleventh century, but dates the founding period of modern German nationalism from 1815 to 1914. He notes that the borders of the "Second" Empire also did not coincide with those of the German nation. The work suggests that the German nation today is divided into three parts: East Germany, West Germany, and Austria. This definition of Germany is followed by Professor Kluke's interesting and informative essay on self-determination, the second volume of the series. Kluke traces the concept of self-determination from the mid-nineteenth century, noting that the concept was advocated by the young Bolshevik regime in 1917 as well as by President Wilson. The principle of self-determination was reaffirmed by the Powers since the signing of the Atlantic Charter and seems to have triumphed at least outside Europe with the recession of colonial empires. The message of these two works is that there is a German nation, not necessarily the region enclosed by the frontiers of 1250 or 1871, but a divided people in a divided world. The solution to this problem of division could be found in the realization of self-determination, a powerful principle once championed by both the major victors of 1945.

Stanislaus State College DAVID B. STENZEL

FÜRSTENMACHT UND STÄNDETUM IN PREUSSEN WÄHREND DER REGIERUNG HERZOG GEORG FRIEDRICHS, 1578–1603. By *Jürgen Petersohn.* [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 20.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1963. Pp. xv, 196. DM 27.) Based on exhaustive archival research, this extremely well-documented study narrates in great detail the hitherto neglected story of the sharply fluctuating struggle for political domination between the territorial estates and their ambitious Prince in the duchy of Prussia, as it ran its course during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Two-thirds of the book deals with the political events from 1580 to 1586, years of open constitutional conflict, marked by acid political strife in the upper ranges of society and by fitful acts of illegality almost free, however, from violence. The author overdramatizes, and tends to misinterpret, the significance of this interesting yet inconclusive historical episode. In fact, Duke George Frederick scored an ephemeral rather than a real victory over his contenders when he put his absolutist aspirations and methods to a test and sought to smash the traditional balance of power between the *Landesherr* and the representative assemblies of the privileged classes. Most of the firmly entrenched local potentates rallied around the lesser landed nobility, the so-called *Ritterschaft,* which quickly regained the upper hand after 1586. Petersohn's regional case study offers but a minor variation on an old theme running through German constitutional and political history in the age of the territorial *Ständestaat.* The impressive solidity of its workmanship notwithstanding, the value of the present book is impaired by narrowness of historical perspective and by adherence to a rather antiquated method and interpretation.

University of California, Berkeley HANS ROSENBERG

KARL MARX UND FRIEDRICH ENGELS IN KÖLN, 1848–1849: ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KÖLNER ARBEITERVEREINS. By *Gerhard Becker.* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1963. Pp. 300. DM 35.80.) The objective of this well-researched study is to present a complete history of the Cologne *Arbeiterverein* of 1848–1849 from the "Marxist viewpoint." The interpretive goal was not difficult to achieve. The author had merely to utilize the writings and policies of Marx and Engels, and their close associates, Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper, as his criterion for criticism and evaluation. Despite the emphasis of the title, the book does not add significantly to our knowledge of Marx and Engels. The focus is almost exclusively on the short history of the *Arbeiterverein* from April 1848 to July 1849, although the other radical movements in Cologne are

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also mentioned. Building in part from the Merseburg archives, Becker patiently details the origins of the *Arbeiterverein,* its organizational structure, the internal antagonism between Andreas Gottschalk and the associates of Marx, the ideological discussions, the ascendancy of the Communists, and the dissolution of the society by the counterrevolution. In this substantive narration and description lies the book's contribution to the history of the German working class in the Revolution of 1848. Following the ideological guidelines that he makes explicit, Becker offers several interpretations that may be debated, but not discounted. He asserts that his study helps to refute the view that Marxism had little or no influence on the working class in 1848–1849 and that the German labor movement only began with Lassalle's activities in the 1860's. While Becker demonstrates that a vibrant workers' movement under conscious socialist leadership existed in Cologne, he does not attempt to prove that this movement made a permanent impact by linking it to developments after 1849. In the same way he provides ample evidence to show that by the spring of 1849 the members of the *Arbeiterverein* were regularly exposed to Marxist thought, but not that they had a conscious commitment to revolutionary socialism. The high point of Becker's interpretive endeavor is the contention that Marx and the *Arbeiterverein* made preparations in the spring of 1849 for the creation of a "revolutionary mass party of the German proletariat" as an autonomous political force to drive the bourgeois liberals and democrats forward. These efforts failed, it is suggested, only because of the counterrevolution. Although there are grounds for questioning Becker's interpretation, his careful scholarship is especially useful for the detailed picture it gives of a working-class organization in 1848–1849.

Michigan State University VERNON L. LIDTKE

AUF DEUTSCHLANDS POLITISCHEM FORUM: DEUTSCHE PARLAMENTARIER UND STUDIEN ZUR NEUESTEN DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE. By *Erich Eyck.* (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1963. Pp. 183. DM 15.) This collection of twenty essays, old and new, is the political testament of a German liberal and octogenarian who has written a classic six-volume reinterpretation of German history, 1862–1933. In eleven scintillating sketches Eyck rescues from oblivion such Wilhelmine parliamentary leaders as Bamberger, Bennigsen, Lasker, Windthorst, Richter, Barth, and Naumann. In celebrating their services to liberalism, Eyck is reaffirming his own undiminished faith in the humanistic values of a *Rechtsstaat.* While again conceding the peerless virtuosity of Bismarck, Eyck insists that his system stultified initiative and encouraged base subservience. Two essays contrast the liberal convictions of Frederick III with the militarist and authoritarian perspective of his son, William II, and reveal how Bismarck unchivalrously vilified Frederick after his demise. Portraits of Lujo Brentano, Jastrow, and Friedrich Kapp further underline the author's ideological commitment. Seventy pages contain four laudably objective studies on Bismarck and Holstein, based mainly on Isabella Massey's translation of secret German Foreign Office documents on the Hohenzollern candidature, Rich and Fisher's *Holstein Papers,* and Baroness von Spitzemberg's diary. Nothing in the Massey documents has caused Eyck to revise his earlier judgments: "Bismarck was the leading and driving force in the whole Hohenzollern candidature, which without him would never have come about." Bismarck must have known that Leopold's acceptance, to which William I had futilely and consistently demurred from the outset, would lead to war with France, but welcomed it. *The Holstein Papers* confirm Helmut Krausnick's asseveration that Bismarck and Holstein disagreed on policy toward Russia. Holstein's petty calumny of Bismarck illustrates the aphorism that while of normal appearance "Holstein had the spirit and character of a hunchback." Rancor prevented him from seeing that "Bismarck's imperishable service was to have preserved the peace of Germany and Europe for twenty years." Undeniably the secret councilor was an irresponsible influence on policy,

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but he was nonetheless right in assigning greater value to the Austro-German alliance than to the later, abortive Russian orientation of the two Bismarcks.

Midwestern University WILLIAM HARVEY MAEHL

THEODOR WUPPERMANN UND DIE VEREINIGUNG RHEINISCH-WESTFÄLISCHER BANDEISENWALZWERKE: EINE STUDIE ÜBER DIE BEDEUTUNG DER PERSÖNLICHKEIT FÜR DIE ENTSTEHUNG UND ENTWICKLUNG EINES KARTELLS BIS ZUM AUSBRUCH DES ERSTEN WELTKRIEGES IM JAHRE 1914. By *Wolfgang Pieper.* [Schriften zur rheinisch-westfälische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, New Series, Number 9.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv. 1963. Pp. 194.) This monograph arose from a series of seminar reports on the historical, economic, and conceptual problems associated with cartel formation in the Rhineland-Westphalian iron and steel industry primarily between about 1896 and 1907. The author's chief contention (never adequately demonstrated) is that the personality of Theodor Wuppermann, a leading producer of *Bandeisen* (technically, hooped steel rather than iron), was the dominant force in organizing and maintaining the cartel that called itself *Vereinigung Rheinisch-Westfälischer Bandeisenwalzwerke.* It continually failed to establish any regular connection with either the central German or the Silesian cartels, as Thyssen, the greatest Westphalian producer and chief "outsider" demanded. The book is topically organized. A brief history of the cartel, reasons for its formation, nonjoiners like Thyssen, and Wuppermann's personality are all treated as separate units, thus imbuing the whole with a repetitious and disjointed quality. What historical narrative there is, is too sketchy to be useful. The author did, however, peruse the records of the cartel with care, and this endeavor is taken as being a rightful justification for publication of the monograph. The material seems rich, but the author has neglected to ask the proper questions. Unfortunately little of the research was subjected to mature reflection. Yet this study has two characteristics that recommend it. It presents evidence that the current East German and Marxist view that high tariffs and the great depression of about 1870–1896 caused monopolization in the German iron and steel industry in the 1890's is not well founded. Indeed, the small entrepreneurs (in Westphalia, at least) were able to organize, and despite incomplete organization (Thyssen remained aloof for a decade) were usually able to maintain their price position. Secondly, the appendixes include original documents of the cartel, which are certainly useful for their own sake.

University of Alberta HELEN P. LIEBEL

ERINNERUNGEN, 1905–1933. By *Theodor Heuss.* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins. 1963. Pp. 459.) In many ways a sequel to his *Vorspiele des Lebens: Jugenderinnerungen* published by Wunderlich ten years earlier, Heuss's memoirs of the period of his first career are disappointing. The charm of the earlier book remains, but the unhurried unity of the narrative is gone, replaced by a rambling, disjointed collection of "memories." Perhaps most useful for the pen portraits of contemporaries such as Paul Rohrbach, Hellmut von Gerlach, Rudolf Breitscheid, Ernst Jäckh, and numerous personages of lesser fame, the book fails to provide the insight into the prewar Naumann circle and the postwar Democratic party one might expect from so prominent a participant-observer. Perhaps the chief reason for the work's shortcomings lies in its piecemeal production, in part from scattered hours stolen from his postwar official duties, but largely, one may surmise, after his retirement, when he was over seventy and no longer in firm control of detail and form. It is disconcerting to read page after page of secondhand history only occasionally illuminated by an extraordinary comment, followed by a tantalizing glimpse of the great world political

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occurrences in which he played a part, all too short and broken by the associations of a long life that lead afield into recollections of travel and acquaintances. Quite conceivably the memoirs will serve as hunting grounds for biographers, but even his own biographers will be hard put to separate the banalities of an old man's memories from the rare bits of information and insight that have survived. Perhaps the anecdotal episodes he describes in his political campaigns and the casual hints of interpretation of men and movements will turn out to be more valuable in specialized contexts. The book traces after a fashion Heuss's evolution from a moderate social reformer to an urbane individualist, while the German milieu in which he acquired his ideals and style changed unrecognizably. It would be unfair to say that Heuss did not evolve as fast as Germany; in a sense he evolved faster. Yet there are enough marginality and irrelevance to his era in the portrait of himself to suggest perhaps a deeper judgment. The human goodness and the humane concern for his fellow men of a Theodor Heuss were essentially conservative factors that failed to find sufficient resonance in Germany to achieve political effectiveness before 1933. In a sense even his efforts at collective social and political action seem doomed by their naïve simplicity. Let us hope that his basic decency will come to symbolize the Federal Republic which he did so much to consolidate. Some have already observed that he did not fit into the scheme of a Neo-Bismarckian *Wirtschaftswunder*. Readers of these memoirs will discover passages revealing a kind of Swabian "tartness" (*Herbheit*) that might help to explain his well-known refusal merely to preside over a restoration.

University of Wisconsin ROBERT KOEHL

DIE REGIERUNG DES PRINZEN MAX VON BADEN. Edited by *Erich Matthias* and *Rudolf Morsey*. [Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. Part 1, Von der konstitutionellen Monarchie zur parlamentarischen Republik. Number 2.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1962. Pp. lxxxv, 699.) In 1959 the Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and of Political Parties published *Der Interfraktionelle Ausschuss, 1917–18,* the first in a projected series of source collections on the last years of Imperial Germany (*AHR,* LXVI [July 1961], 1114). The present volume, under the same editorship, is an impressive sequel. Its detailed coverage of the period from October 1 to November 9, 1918, offers an abundance of new information on problems of foreign and domestic policy and illuminates such larger issues as the viability of democratic forces and the quality of political leadership in Wilhelmine Germany. The editors have utilized *Parteiakten,* the *Nachlässe* of such strategic figures as Matthias Erzberger, Conrad Haussmann, and Gustav Stresemann, and a considerable quantity of *Amtliche Überlieferung,* notably *Kabinettsprotokolle* from the files of the *Reichskanzlei*. The index, explanatory notes, and other technical aids maintain the high standards of editorial craftsmanship set by the first publication in this series. In their introduction the editors observe that in September 1918 the *Reichstag* coalition, comprising the Center, Progressive, and Majority Social Democratic parties, was preparing for a new confrontation with the supreme command. Ludendorff's peremptory demand for an armistice and for a new government with broad popular support precipitated the resignation of Hertling, a conservative Centrist opposed to constitutional reform. The appointment of Prince Max came only after spokesmen of the *Reichstag* coalition declined to nominate a candidate from their own ranks. There were widespread skepticism regarding the new Chancellor's abilities and general ignorance of his attitude toward urgent national questions. Prince Max was more a representative of the regime than a policy maker, and it was the leaders of the *Reichstag* coalition who shaped the constitutional revolution of October 1918. The editors question the prevalent interpretation of the political transformation as a "revolution from above" engineered by

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Ludendorff. They argue that historians have oversimplified this transformation by depreciating the importance of the *Reichstag* coalition in preparing and carrying out the program of parliamentarization.

California State College at Fullerton GEORGE E. ETUE

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN WESTDEUTSCHLAND SEIT 1945. In two volumes. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volumes VIIa and VIIb.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1963. Pp. viii, 435; 440–735. DM 59.50 the set.) In these volumes of his series on the conditions of the working class in capitalistic society, the well-known East German labor historian focuses on West Germany during the postwar years. His findings are documented with references to newspapers, manuals, statistical abstracts, monographs, and periodicals published in West as well as in East Germany, though he relies heavily on the East German Economic Institute for data and on many Eastern European publications to buttress his conspiratorial theory of the role of capitalistic enterprise. Thus he sees the decartelization of Germany in 1945 followed by a brief interval during which the occupying powers sought to reconstitute West Germany as an economic colony. This "colonization" policy gave way to the restoration of indigenous West German trusts, a program facilitated by the rehabilitation of many industrialists who had been charged with war crimes. The third stage of this evolution began in 1950 with the resurrection of combinations and monopolies, notably by spokesmen of American trusts placed in strategic posts in the military government, the reborn German combinations and trusts functioning as junior partners of their American counterparts. The Schumann Plan, the Marshall Plan, and the unification of the Western zones, meanwhile, facilitated the remilitarization of West Germany, its integration into the Western economy, and, in keeping with Kuczynski's demonology, the systematic preparation for the Third World War of revenge and conquest directed by Western "monopoly capitalism" against "the forces of peace and democracy" in Eastern Europe. The fifth stage of economic development, beginning in 1956, is marked by a vast expansion of industrial production, the definitive division of Germany, and the extension of combinations and monopolies, thus enhancing the war potential of Bonn and its Western "accomplices." In this preparation for aggression West German "monopoly capital" enlists the ideological collaboration of the press, the universities, the schools, the churches, and, above all, the "treacherous" Right-wing leadership of West German socialism and the trade-unions whose membership "has been lulled into quiescence" by dreams of "social partnership" with capital. Kuczynski candidly admits that real wages have risen impressively since the war, that the work week is shorter, vacations longer, and unemployment eliminated in West Germany, though he voices concern over the rise of industrial accidents and disease, the accelerated tempo of work, and the decline in average life expectancy. This data, on which Kuczynski is expertly informed, thus impugns his whole thesis of the progressive pauperization of the wage earning classes. Especially curious is his reticence with respect to labor conditions in East Germany, on which he is assuredly well informed. It is true that the intensification of competition since 1946 and the creation of large trade blocks tend to favor combination and monopoly. It is no less true, however, that modern capitalistic enterprise dreads nothing more than the uncertainties that inevitably accompany international tension and conflict and that these tensions and conflicts are rooted in the divergence of interests inherent in any large and diversified community, whether collectivist or capitalist.

Pennsylvania State University ALFRED G. PUNDT

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF BOSNIA–HERCEGOVINA, 1878–1918. By *Peter F.*

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Sugar. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 275. $8.50.) Few parts of the world afford such a challenge to humanists and social scientists as do Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this volume Professor Sugar provides us with a study of the industrialization of the two provinces during their occupation by Austria-Hungary. In that connection he discusses the monarchy's policy toward the Slavic population, the nature of Austro-Hungarian administrative policy, the controversy between Vienna and Budapest over Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Austria-Hungary's attitude toward foreign capital. According to the author, Austria-Hungary made two mistakes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It delayed agrarian reform for political reasons, and when it did introduce reforms "they were animated by political and not economic motives." The economic development policy "practically excluded native capitalists from participating in the industrialization of the province." The Hungarians, moreover, prevented the development of a better transportation network because as long as Bosnia-Herzegovina had no railroad connection with the ports of Dalmatia, Fiume—the Hungarian port—remained the major port for the province's export shipment. Although the author restricts his study to the "economic sector," he knows that "the economic development program cannot be carried out unless the traditional cultural factors are taken into consideration." This is exactly the sphere in which the Austro-Hungarian authorities failed. For the final thirty years of occupation they concentrated exclusively on economic problems. But one wonders whether, even if Austria-Hungary had given due attention to traditional and cultural factors, it could have held on to the provinces. The more it gave them the more they resisted its rule. In my opinion an assessment of the full impact of Austro-Hungarian economic policies would require investigation of the political, cultural, and social changes they effected in the society of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But this, it is hoped, Sugar may take up in his next volume. In the meantime he has given us a balanced and well-documented study of the industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Stanford University WAYNE S. VUCINICH

SAGGI DI STORIA MEDIEVALE E MODERNA. By *Niccolò Rodolico.* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, Editore. 1963. Pp. xxiv, 466. L. 4,500.) Niccolò Rodolico is a scholar whose numerous publications from 1895 to the present on medieval and modern Italian history need little introduction. The present volume contains reprints (in some cases corrected or abbreviated) of twenty-four scholarly articles, essays, contributions to *Festschriften,* and chapters of some of his books. Many are particularly welcome as they were long out-of-print or appeared originally in publications of limited circulation. (One of the rarest is *Massa Marittima e il suo statuto mineraria* [1938], first published in a limited edition that was never offered for public sale.) The contents of this volume are grouped under the general headings "Medio Evo Cristiano," "Toscana Comunale," "Politica Commerciale di Venezia," "Note di Paleografia e Storiografia," "Italia agli Inizi dell'Età Moderna," and "Dal Settecento Italiano."

University of Nebraska WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

BANCA E CONGIUNTURA NEL MEZZOGIORNO D'ITALIA. Volume I, 1809–1863. By *Domenico Demarco.* [Università degli Studi di Napoli, Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 7.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1963. Pp. 462. L. 5,500.) In recent years Italian economic historians have been diligently publishing basic information for the period of the restoration—for the years between the fall of Napoleon and the unification of the country. Much of their product has appeared in the multivolume *Archivio Economico dell'Unificazione Italiana,* but some of it has been brought out in separate publications, frequently sponsored by banks. In the latter classification the works of Professor Domenico Demarco of

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the Faculty of Economics and Commerce of the University of Naples are conspicuous for their wealth of data and the regularity of their appearance. Scholars of Italian economic history are already in his debt for *Il Banco delle Due Sicilie* (1958); now they have him to thank for a study of banks and business crises in southern Italy from 1809 to 1863. The latter study is less an account of business fluctuations than it is of the depression phase of cycles and how banks fared during them. The author is particularly concerned with banking crises engendered by military or political disturbances, such as that of 1813 accompanying the decline of Napoleon's star; those of 1820 and 1848–1849 during revolutionary situations; and that of 1863 following unification and the organization of the *Banco di Napoli* out of the *Banco delle Due Sicilie*. Banking data are given for each of these episodes, which means that the statistical series are fragmentized and never continuous enough to show long-range change. The time series, moreover, give entries on an annual basis for only the crisis years, whereas quarterly data would be desirable for many more phenomena than registered here to give an impression of flux and amplitude. The information presented does, however, show how banks fared under pressure, and incidentally it illustrates not only how small many of the accounts in banks were but also how wealth must have been concentrated, if one may judge from the number of accounts by size.

Columbia University SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

L'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA VISTA DAI DIPLOMATICI STATUNITENSI. Volume I (1838–1848). Edited by *Howard R. Marraro*. Preface by *Alberto M. Ghisalberti*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume XLIX.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1963. Pp. xxxvi, 352.) To the existing collections of diplomatic documents involving the United States and the Italian states during the *Risorgimento*—hitherto covering American relations with the Papal States (1848–1868) and with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1816–1861)—Professor Marraro now adds a new series, of high editorial quality, covering American relations with the kingdom of Sardinia. Correspondence to be reproduced and edited will eventually span the period 1838–1861 (for the kingdom of Sardinia) and the period 1861–1871 (for the kingdom of Italy). This first volume includes correspondence for the period 1838–1848, most of which concerns the negotiation and implementation of the 1838 commercial treaty between the United States and the Sardinian states; toward the end of the volume, however, are dispatches to Washington concerning, and conveying some of the excitement of, the events following the death of Gregory XVI. In the preface, Marraro traces the development of Piedmontese-American relations, 1818–1861. Perhaps the low point was reached in the mid-1850's when the American chargé d'affaires in the Piedmontese capital, John M. Daniel, wrote an open letter to the editor of the Richmond, Virginia, *Examiner*, accusing the whole Piedmontese nobility of reeking of garlic and onion and asserting that the entire kingdom was full of "the effluvia of those vulgar bulbs." For his fastidiousness, Daniel was rewarded with expulsion from a Turinese club, a challenge to duel, and recall to Washington.

University of California, Los Angeles ROBERT C. FRIED

THE DAY OF THE LION: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF FASCIST ITALY, 1922–1945. By *Roy MacGregor-Hastie*. (New York: Coward-McCann. 1964. Pp. 395. $6.95.) A book attempting to reconstruct and reflect upon an era in the history of a country, an era intimately bound up with the life of one man, runs the risk of being inadequate as history or as biography. This book is inadequate in both respects, but its greater failure lies in its historical pretensions. I cannot conscientiously recommend it as worthy of serious consideration. Numerous factual mistakes indicate a general slovenliness and lack of attention to detail. To cite an example, the Popular party is described as having

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its first electoral success in 1903, but it was not created until 1919. This carelessness extends to the proofreading; names of individuals and titles of books are wrongly given. Documentation is scanty and perverse. Important statements of position are left without source identification. Direct quotations of conversations, some of them by telephone between Mussolini and Hitler, are not documented. Statements are attributed to a "hostile newspaper in England" without naming the paper; to a "Swedish journalist's report" without naming the journalist or the paper in which his report appeared. Mussolini is "offered the leadership of part of the Arab world . . . ," without identifying who made the offer. The author gives versions of important events and developments in Italian and European history that differ drastically from those of many excellent historians, but he fails to provide the basis for convincing me that his version is to be preferred. For example, Mussolini is given the major credit for bringing Italy into World War I on the side of the *Entente*. He is pictured as forcing a hesitant Salandra into intervention in May 1915. This version of the *Duce*'s influence at that time is a drastic exaggeration. Again, Mussolini is presented as the original source of the idea of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, as having suggested it and urged it upon the *Führer*. This contradicts the previous evidence which pictured the Italian government as surprised and angered when it was informed of the agreement just a few hours before the public announcement. As a biography of Mussolini, the book is somewhat better. Aspects of Mussolini's personality come through, and the author demonstrates Mussolini's skill as a journalist, even if his judgment that the *Duce* was "the newspaperman of the century" is rather excessive. Similarly exaggerated is the statement "Mussolini's following among the peasants, from start to finish, was almost 100 percent." The *Duce*'s temperamental flitting from subject to subject, his sensitivity to questions of face, his fear of appearing ridiculous, all emerge from the narrative, as does Mussolini's incapacity for sustained and serious examination of issues and problems.

University of Connecticut NORMAN KOGAN

STUDII ŞI MATERIALE DE ISTORIE MODERNĂ [Studies and Materials Related to Modern History]. Volume III. [Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Istorie.] (Bucharest: Editorua Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne. 1963. Pp. 538.) This third volume of studies published under the auspices of the Institute of History of the Rumanian Academy is, at first glance, a mélange of contributions on some very familiar topics: the "bourgeois-democratic" revolution of 1848, the 1878 war of independence, industrial development, the workers' movement, and the inevitable exploitation of the peasantry. A number of the pieces, too, go through the initial rite of footnotes to K. Marx, F. Engels, or V. I. Lenin. Still, as Wordsworth observed of the sonnet's "scanty plot of ground," some may find "brief solace there." For, despite the restrictions of scope and approach, these essays are of interest to the historian. Some, such as Gh. Smarandache's report on the Wallachian Army in 1848 or Ovidiu Bădina's discussion of the revolutionary role of Polish democrats, suggest new approaches to this year of upheaval. Others, notably G. Zane's monograph on the revolutionary movement of 1840 in Wallachia, provide some new and significant documentation. Still others, for example, M. Iosa's analysis of Rumania's movement toward industrialization from 1880 to 1914, offer an interpretation, which may be debated, of the dynamics of the industrial impact in Eastern Europe. Briefly, for the student of Rumanian history or of developments in Southeastern Europe (résumés are provided in Russian and French) this collection will be of value.

Columbia University HENRY L. ROBERTS

LE STATUT DES PAYSANS LIBÉRÉS DU SERVAGE, 1861–1961: RECUEIL D'ARTICLES ET DE DOCUMENTS. Presented by *R. Portal et al.* [École Pratique

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des Hautes Études—Sorbonne, VI^e Section. Sciences économiques et sociales. Études sur l'histoire, l'économie et la sociologie des pays slaves, Number 6.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. 310.) This book is divided into three main sections: the preparation of the statute of emancipation, the reform itself, and its aftereffects. The book's purpose, "essentially pedagogical," is to give an introduction to these problems for teachers unfamiliar with Russian history and for those interested in economic and social problems of nineteenth-century Eastern Europe. Each section combines lucid articles and well-selected documents. Useful bibliographical indications are given throughout. The chief theme of the collection is the fatal compromise of an emancipation that merely resulted from competing interest groups. As R. Portal observes in his introduction, "il n'y eut pas de Nuit du 4 août." The statute of emancipation was not the Tsar-Liberator's impulsive gift to his people to ameliorate their hard lot or a plan to modernize his empire, but a bureaucratic solution in material terms, lacking any moral *élan*. The conflict of interests was complicated by the great variety of climates, soils, landholding institutions, and historical traditions affected by the emancipation. The contributors' approaches may be seen in the various chapters: M. Confino's "Les projets de réforme de la Noblesse (1855–1858)"; T. Bakounine's "Le problème du 'nadal' (1857–1860)"; P. Pechoux's "L'ombre de Pugačev"; R. Philippot's "Le Statut de la Réforme du 19 février 1861"; C. Kastler's "L'intelligentsia et la réforme (1861–1866)"; Philippot's "L'application de la Réforme dans la province de Kharkov"; Bakounine's "Discussions entre propriétaires et paysans (1861–1867): Le cas de Nadeždino (gouvernement de Saratov)"; B. Kerblay's "La vie rurale dans la province de Smolensk vers 1865, d'après A. Engel'gardt." Kastler's essay pays eloquent tribute to the moral and civic courage of the intelligentsia, but might have noted, in line with the main theme of the collection, that their economic views were outdated. For example, Chernyshevski influenced the attitudes of thousands of university students to idealize the peasant *mir,* to scorn "careerism," to neglect engineering and practical industrial work for the pursuit of pure knowledge.

Queens College ALLEN MCCONNELL

LENIN: THE COMPULSIVE REVOLUTIONARY. By *Stefan T. Possony.* [The Hoover Institution Series.] (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1964. Pp. xvi, 418. $7.95.) Lenin was the prototype of the modern mass leader and one of the first to grasp the power of propaganda. Dr. Possony excellently describes the establishment and operation of the *Iskra* organization. He also makes it clear that Lenin had to control the Revolution, and that this need, along with his tactical genius, contributed to his stature in the movement. Various writers on Lenin, conscious of being still in the shadow of his life, assume their readers to be familiar with details. Possony, by contrast, systematically chronicles Lenin's activities, telling where he was on any given day, exactly what he was doing, and with whom. From such a detailed recounting of Lenin's persistent struggling against all odds, especially after 1905, when all hope seemed lost, there emerges the portrait of a compulsive man who could not spare himself. At the outset the narrative stumbles over dull data about Lenin's family and early life. We learn that his grandfather acquired a one-and-one-half story house and that his aunt married "a certain Ardashev by whom she had nine children." Discussing the period 1900–1914, the text is interesting, objective, and, in places, rich in insight. This section is marred only by a relatively few conjectural or trivial comments of the kind that unfortunately dominate later pages. The author, too often, tries to track down the source of Lenin's every ruble, to trace the activities of spies, double agents, and the like, to ponder the authenticity of wartime rumors, to investigate hints of intrigue by statesmen and secret police, and even to document Lenin's sex and love life. Indeed, the book ends with a

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clinical case study. "The diagnosis of a 'dualistic' schizoid and cyclothymic personality seems quite incontrovertible from the record *as it is available*." The author displays boundless curiosity, but amid the quest down every trail through the thickets of hearsay, Lenin disappears from view among the underbrush. The author implicitly attributes Lenin's wartime writings on imperialism, national self-determination, and the role of the state in a revolution to his desire to repay with propaganda those in Germany who gave him money to provoke a revolution in Russia. But during the war it became Lenin's principal aim to establish himself as the leader of the world revolution, and virtually everything he did thereafter is explainable by that desire. Possony, correctly noting Lenin's striving for power in Russia, fails to see that the same dynamism was transferred to the world arena following 1915.

City College of New York STANLEY W. PAGE

THE NEW FACE OF SOVIET TOTALITARIANISM. By *Adam B. Ulam.* [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 47.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. 233. $4.95.) In this rewarding volume, Professor Ulam has included four of his previously published articles, which appeared between 1955 and 1962, a paper delivered in 1961, and introductory and concluding essays. It is surely an act of faith and courage, especially in the swiftly moving field of contemporary Soviet affairs, to reissue earlier writings in the light of subsequent events and disclosures. The author should be gratified that his judgments were sound and his discussions still meaningful. The seven essays cover "The Historical Role of Marxism and the Soviet System" (1955), "Stalin and the Theory of Totalitarianism" (1955), "Soviet Ideology and Soviet Foreign Policy" (1959), "The New Face of Soviet Totalitarianism" (1960), "Nationalism, Pan-slavism, Communism" (1962), "Socialism in Current Soviet Historiography" (1961), and "Khrushchev and Boccaccio." As is evident, they range over a broad spectrum, including ideology, practical foreign and domestic politics, intellectual developments, and the always fascinating interrelationships of all these facets of Soviet activity. Certainly not every reader will agree with all the author's assumptions or interpretations, but few will fail to find them provocative or to enjoy the clarity and lively style of their exposition. The introduction outlines succinctly the hazards in scholarly studies of Soviet history, which the author suggests his accompanying essays occasionally illustrate. Throughout the book, the contradictions and dilemmas in many areas within the Soviet system are lucidly discussed. If a single theme prevails, it is the paradox that as the national and international successes of the Soviet Union have multiplied, the less pertinent and attractive has become the doctrine upon which it was founded. If made available in an inexpensive edition, this collection could be valuable collateral reading for courses in recent Soviet history.

University of Colorado ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

Near East

THE GREAT ARAB CONQUESTS. By *Sir John Bagot Glubb.* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. 384. $6.95.) General Glubb, who commanded the Arab Legion until his expulsion from Jordan in 1956, traces in this book the expansion of the Arabs from their earliest victories under Mohammed through the reigns of the first five caliphs. He stops with the death of Mo'awiya, the first of the Ommiad dynasty, in 680, when the great upsurge of conquest had already spent itself and the character of the Arab Empire was being transformed. A sequel is to deal with the fortunes of empire under the later Ommiads and the Abbasides. The present volume, Glubb explains, does not pretend to be a work "of profound scholarship," and it is addressed to general

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readers, to people who "have scarcely even heard of the Byzantine Empire or the Arab Conquests." By utilizing the traditional Arab histories and the Western commentaries on them and by interpreting them in the light of his own experiences in the Middle East, he hopes to have constructed for the first time a "lucid and reasonable" narrative of early Moslem military history. These hopes are in considerable measure well fulfilled. "Lucid" the account certainly is, thanks to the generous number of maps and, still more, to the author's ability to keep both tactical details and major strategic issues in sharp focus. It is also lively and dramatic, particularly because of Glubb's vignettes of personalities who are usually little more than names in a textbook: Aisha, Mohammed's favorite wife; Omar, Othman, Ali, and other early caliphs; and warriors like Khalid ibn-al-Waleed, who conquered Syria, and Amr ibn-al-As, who took Egypt. Scholars, however, may question the "reasonableness" of some aspects of Glubb's account. Many would probably agree with his repeated emphasis on religious enthusiasm rather than economic privation as the driving force in the first campaigns of Arab expansion. On the other hand, few would be likely to concur in the generalization made in the epilogue that the "long-standing rivalry between Christians and Muslims has been due to political and geographical accident rather than to basic religious differences." Every now and again Glubb strikes a false note. Since almost all early Moslems were illiterate, as he observes, it is hard to accept his story that Omar became Mohammed's second convert through reading part of the Koran. Most of all, it is hard to accept Glubb's contention that the tribesmen who supplied recruits for the first Arab armies and for his own Arab Legion "remained unchanged for thirteen hundred years." In his view they were nature's noblemen, wild but also generous, humorous, and chivalrous, untainted by the corruption of town life, despite the fact that Mohammed and many of his first adherents were themselves townsmen.

University of Rochester JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

THE FIRST TURKISH REPUBLIC: A CASE STUDY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Richard D. Robinson*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Studies, Number 9.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 367. $5.95.) The core of this book is a summary of Turkish economic policy under the republic, of foreign relations, and of the crisis of 1960–1961. Dr. Robinson can support his research with years of firsthand observation of the Turkish scene. He rightly stresses that "economic opportunity" is in large part "conditioned by historical, cultural, and environmental factors," takes a balanced view of the controversy surrounding *étatisme*, and reminds us that Turkey's economic upsurge was well under way when Menderes came to power. He attributes the current "coincidence of interests between Turkey and the United States" to the cold war and warns that circumstances might change, but he surely goes too far in speculating about the possibility of "another Turkish drive for empire." In judging the military coup of 1960, Robinson is critical alike of Democrats, Republicans, and the Committee of National Unity. Having professed, in the preface, his commitment to "liberal political concepts" that would "combine democracy and development," he condemns, in his final pages, both Menderes and Gürsel for "dependence upon personal authoritarian leadership." The remedy against any future danger of "authoritarian rule" turns out to be "the appearance of . . . individual genius cloaked in a powerful political personality." "Turkey," the author concludes, "awaits its second Mustafa Kemal." Readers who gratefully recall Robinson's sensitive and well-informed reporting from Gaziantep to the American Universities Field Staff in the 1950's will deplore his hasty forays into history, particularly in his chapters on the Young Turks and Kemalists. The New Army is misdated from 1826, the Ottoman law of 1876 called a "republican constitution," the Ottoman patriot Namik Kemal characterized as a "Young Turk" and

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spokesman of "Turkish nationalism," Şemsi Paşa in 1908 alleged to have gone to Macedonia to "placate" rather than suppress the insurgent officers, and the Second Group of 1921 dated from 1923, its personnel confused with the Progressives of 1924. Robinson has his hero, the first Mustafa Kemal, "dispatched to Bulgaria as military attaché" in 1915 rather than 1913, resigning his "commission" rather than his command in 1917, leading a "Society for the Defense of *National* [*sic*] Rights," and opposing plans for an American "trusteeship" rather than mandate. The fantastic assertion that "The British had sent Mustapha Kemal" to Anatolia in 1919 is cited without comment. In a section on "Kemal, the Man," the contradictory testimony of a minor US Foreign Service officer writing in 1956 ("non-Turkish blood,—Hellene, Jewish, Circassian") and of H. C. Armstrong's notoriously sensational biography *Grey Wolf* ("a throwback to the Tatars of the Steppes") is enlivened by the adolescent gushings of Kemal's "confidante," Miss Zsa Zsa Gabor ("like . . . a blind man, yet one whose eyes pierced you through"). In view of Halil Kut's capture in 1916 of a British general with most of his army, it is questionable whether Kemal "was the sole Turkish military leader to come out of the war with increased stature." After the armistice, Robinson holds, "the sultan and Kemal . . . remained as the only two potential leaders in postwar Turkey. Obviously there was not room for both." Why was it that Kemal, who tried throughout the winter of 1918–1919 to assume power under the sultan in Istanbul, took fully five months to discover, and several more years to avow publicly, what to Robinson is obvious from the start? Robinson's use of "the helpful insight of hindsight" is one clue provided in the text; another is contained in the many footnote references to journalists writing decades after the event. The reader will find a well-informed and suggestive appraisal of some aspects of recent Turkish economics and politics in Robinson's book. To understand the historical background of Mustafa Kemal, the late Empire, and the early republic, he will do better to rely on careful histories such as Bernard Lewis' *Emergence of Modern Turkey* or Geoffrey Lewis' *Turkey*.

Columbia University DANKWART A. RUSTOW

Africa

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES. By *Lord Hailey*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 136. $2.90.) This "booklet," as its author chooses to call it, does not pretend to new discoveries or interpretations in its detailing of the elaborate minuet danced for the last fifty years between successive British and South African governments on the future of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. British "consultation" has vied with South African "cooperation," and now the "threat of communism" in these sterile negotiations for the transfer of the territories to South Africa. The author does a considerable service in showing how recent UN interest and "national" parties in the territories have complicated the situation. For him, however, Bantu in the territories have only a choice between continued British control and absorption into South Africa. The third choice of independence is simply unreal in their situation. Continued British control depends ultimately upon British public opinion, which has hardened even as South African racial policies have become more rigid. I am concerned about one error because it is so common. When the author equates South African official racial policies with "Afrikaner" values, he ignores the facts of "English" Natal, the late Central African Federation, and now Southern Rhodesia, where racial attitudes on the government level are identical with those of Pretoria. The truth is that in their racial attitudes Afrikaners and English find their one area of cooperation.

University of Southern California COLIN RHYS LOVELL

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Asia and the East

THE CHINA-INDIA BORDER: THE ORIGINS OF THE DISPUTED BOUNDARIES. By *Alastair Lamb.* [Chatham House Essays, Number 2. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 192. $2.00.) This is an enlightening account of the events leading to the current dispute between China and India about the location of their border. Beginning with agreements between Indian rulers and Tibet in the seventeenth century, Lamb describes in detail the various treaties and maneuvers that shaped the Sino-Indian border during the 250 years that followed. By including numerous maps he succeeds in illuminating virtually every aspect of this exceedingly complicated subject. He shows that, in the northwest, China's rights to a disputed stretch of wasteland over which the Chinese have built a road linking Tibet with Sinkiang are almost indisputable. As for the so-called "McMahon Line," which the Indians insist is the boundary between Tibet and northeastern India, Lamb feels that the Chinese reject this claim largely because China did not sign the Anglo-Tibetan treaty that established the "McMahon Line," and, therefore, by accepting its provisions the Chinese would be acknowledging the independence of Tibet; in the past, no Chinese government has been willing to admit that Tibet is not a part of China. Although Lamb dismisses China's own claims as extravagant, he deplores India's refusal to make concessions of any kind, on the grounds that the Chinese probably will not press their demands if India recognizes their right to the territory occupied by their road and stops insisting on the legitimacy of the "McMahon Line." My only reservation with respect to this generally dispassionate and carefully researched book concerns the author's undocumented assertion that China is jealous of India's economic progress in recent years.

Duke University DONALD G. GILLIN

SELECTIONS FROM EDUCATIONAL RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. Volume II, DEVELOPMENT OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, 1860–87. Edited by *J. P. Naik.* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1963. Pp. lxvii, 558. Rs. 25.) At first glance, this selection of educational records from the National Archives in New Delhi might seem interesting largely to advanced researchers. Actually, in this collection of correspondence and memorandums is the lifeblood of the controversies involving Indian higher education after the mutiny. In them, the developing character of the university system stands revealed. The main controversies arose between the British officials of the upper provinces, sometimes prompted by distinguished Indians such as Syed Ahmad Khan, and the conservatives of Calcutta University and the central administration. The issue was the establishment of new universities at Lahore and Allahabad. The results of the controversies were disappointing. The records reveal British reluctance to experiment with new modes of higher education or to evoke something of India's intellectual heritage (in which they saw little good) for the development of the country. Besides its educational information, the collection gives a fascinating glimpse into the attitudes of Indians and Britons and provides insight into the cultural environment. The Indian viewpoint was the most veiled. Indians often reflected the opinions of their British superiors in demanding English education and condemning Oriental learning. Occasionally, when a Westernized law professor at Benares asserts that "there is a vast stock of intellectual wealth in India to draw upon," one glimpses a different set of beliefs and other sorts of feelings. The British certainly neglected this wealth of intellect and were unable fully to evaluate the educational environment or culture of India. One British official (with unconscious irony) commented about Indian intellectuals "who talk beautifully but write and think most inaccurately." He was merely revealing prevailing

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British biases. When one realizes that this sort of cultural misunderstanding was the basis of the British educational effort, one may understand why its success was limited. Although the records are interesting, the editing of the volume has many shortcomings. The introductory essay, which reads like an interoffice memo with its numbered paragraphs and mundane summation of material, hardly serves to present necessary information about the political and social background, the institutional structure, or the prevailing policies involved in the controversies. Much greater scholarly effort should have been expended on the preparation of the volume. Contemporary periodical literature, together with memoirs and monographs, should have been utilized in presenting editorial comments and explanatory footnotes. The documents deserved a fresh and searching interpretation. This useful volume thus not only would have been made more available to readers, but could have become a significant contribution to the intellectual history of the period.

Bowdoin College GEORGE BEARCE

THE RUSH THAT NEVER ENDED: A HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN MINING. By *Geoffrey Blainey*. (Parkville: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 369. $7.50.) The author of *The Peaks of Lyell,* the excellent history of the great copper mine in Tasmania, has now written an equally good history of all base and precious metals mined in Australia. Coal mining is excluded; the title, therefore, should more accurately be "a history of Australian metal mining." He tells a dramatic story in terms of the main fields, because each field had its own special problems of climate, distance, terrain, and isolation, its own "heroes and villains," and its own influences on the colony and the continent. Mining influenced law, politics, religion, unionism, and racial policies. The scene crisscrosses Australia from "the steaming tropical north to the mists and high mountains of Tasmania's west coast," from Queensland's Mount Morgan, a solid hill of gold, to the parched land of Western Australia. Thus, the isolation of the new fields carved lines of transportation. The story ranges from pioneers and gamblers of the mining towns to the industrial tycoons of the great companies. The author admits that he has emphasized too much the discoverers, but he feels that they were giants of courage and strength and their explorations neglected. He partly neglects trade-unionism, chiefly because he feels that "the class struggle and industrial friction has [*sic*] been exaggerated." Finally he has written too much on the gambling and investing side of mining, but is frugal in quoting statistics. However, he never fails to convey the sense of drama. His style is vivid to the point of occasional purple prose. His research is intensive. He introduces many new names and explodes many old myths. For example, he shows the importance of early South Australian mining, and he has something fresh to say about Edward Hargraves, the man responsible for the great rush of 1851. His chapter on the anatomy of speculation is excellent. He is well versed in modern methods and is correct in pointing out that "Kalgoorlie's success in mastering rebellious ores made it probably the world's leading goldfield in metallurgy." Furthermore, he underscores the little-appreciated fact that Australian prospectors found or pioneered new mining fields throughout the world, and that there are few mines anywhere that have not utilized Australian innovations in metallurgy. At the same time he is logical in showing why miners scorned the geologist. Developments since 1914 might have deserved longer treatment, particularly such new mines as Mount Isa, in western Queensland. Illustrations and maps are excellent, the bibliography exhaustive, but scholars will be tantalized by a complete absence of footnotes.

University of California, Irvine SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series Three (Air). Volume IV, AIR

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POWER OVER EUROPE, 1944–1945. By *John Herington.* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; distrib. by Angus and Robertson, Sydney. 1963. Pp. xiii, 539. 35*s.*) This is the last of four volumes on the Royal Australian Air Force in World War II. These volumes are part of the larger history of the war being prepared by the Australians in twenty-two volumes, of which nineteen had been published by 1963. The Australians have followed the comprehensive British approach toward the history of the war, including nine volumes on nonmilitary aspects. Four volumes on the RAAF in the air war of 1939–1945 may seem more than the Australian contribution might warrant, but the quality of the Australians often seemed to offset their lack of quantity. This volume on the air war against Germany in 1944–1945 is a sober and deserved tribute to the fifteen thousand Australians who operated as part of the RAF in the Mediterranean and Western Europe, engaging in every type of aerial operation against the enemy. Although there were only 18 Australian squadrons serving with the RAF in Europe, and few of these were manned entirely by Australians, the latter could be found in no less than 214 RAF squadrons. Although the book lacks the usual documentation of sources, it is clear that it is based on the official documents to which the author had full access. The detailed accounts of the operations of Australian units and of Australian crewmen serving in British units are done with the sure eye and hand of a professional—both flyer and historian. Herington warns the reader against "the unconscious bias of this record . . . in which the exploits of RAAF squadrons and individuals are emphasized to explain events." This candid warning against the distortion of perspective that can result from almost microscopic examination of details is actually unnecessary because the author has succeeded in avoiding this pitfall. He has placed his account of operations and other activities, in themselves fragmentary, into a much broader context of Allied operations against the Germans. And still better, he has succeeded in projecting this against a broad canvas of strategic thinking and planning that gives meaning to the whole. The ability to weave a great number of essentially small actions into the much larger fabric of the war, and to keep the reader aware of this larger context, is no mean achievement. This is a well-planned and well-executed account of air operations. Historians interested in writing over-all histories of the air war of 1939–1945 will have to take account of the Australian contribution to the subject.

Arlington, Virginia ALFRED GOLDBERG

Americas

DAS AMERIKANISCHE REGIERUNGSSYSTEM: EINE POLITOLOGISCHE ANALYSE. In two volumes. LEITFADEN; QUELLENBUCH. By *Ernst Fraenkel.* [Die Wissenschaft von der Politik, Volume V.] (2d ed.; Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1962. Pp. 379; 61.) The governmental system of a given country is frequently misunderstood by persons operating within a different framework of attitudes, values, and preconceptions. The present work, first published in 1960, is an attempt to overcome this difficulty for German students of American government. The author holds law degrees from American and German universities and worked with the US State Department before assuming his present duties as professor of political science at the Free University of Berlin. His firsthand experience in both countries and his clear understanding of the problem of semantics in intercultural communication inform this stimulating, unorthodox analysis, which concentrates on those aspects of American government most frequently ignored or misunderstood by Germans and includes a running comparison of American and German theory and practice. Since most Europeans regard the United States as a land without traditions, Fraenkel emphasizes the sources of the American system: the common law, Enlightenment thought, English

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constitutional theory and practice, and the colonial experience. Because the German concepts of *Beamtentum* and *Partei* differ radically from their American counterparts, much attention is devoted to the civil service, American party organization, the lack of party discipline, and similar matters. Some "peculiarities" of the American system, such as its frequent nonapplication to Negroes and its reliance on the activities of interest groups, are treated more adequately than in any comparable American work. Exception can be taken to a number of Fraenkel's judgments. He exaggerates the "Thermidorean" nature of the Constitution, ascribes too much influence to Roger Williams, and is too dogmatic about the undogmatic character of American political parties. Though he recognizes the importance of the pragmatic element in American governmental practice, he nevertheless takes an overly legalistic view of the implications of the lack of an item veto and similar technical matters. But the obvious merits of the book far outweigh its shortcomings. It should be required reading for all German students of America, whether of government or of history. It also offers fresh and provocative insights to American readers, although it contains little or no new information. The accompanying source book is nearly useless. It contains, without annotation or introductory comment, the texts of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and *The Federalist*, Number 10. Of some value to German readers are the excerpts from four Supreme Court decisions that are not readily available in translation elsewhere, but here again some comments would have helped, and the number and choice of cases are disappointing.

Union College MANFRED JONAS

IMAGES OF AMERICAN LIVING: FOUR CENTURIES OF ARCHITECTURE AND FURNITURE AS CULTURAL EXPRESSION. By *Alan Gowans*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 498. $16.50.) Alan Gowans is professor of art and art history at the University of Delaware and seminar leader for the H. F. DuPont Winterthur Museum. In this volume he "tries to do no more than suggest the broad patterns of development in American architecture and furniture," offer "selected monuments" to illustrate those patterns, and show how "they may be read as a living and tangible record of the course of American civilization." Actually he accomplishes more than is promised in this rather limited declaration of purpose. The broad patterns of development from the medieval America of the seventeenth century to man and art in the United States of the twentieth century are so skillfully sketched, with carefully chosen photographs and line drawings to illuminate the text, that readers with little or no background in architectural history no less than specialists should find the exposition both comprehensible and intriguing. The unique contribution of the book, however, stems from the author's attempts to relate architecture and furniture to the dominant ideas, attitudes, and social values of each successive era. Not all of these interpretive essays come off with equal success. The author seems far less sure footed in the twentieth century than he does from the seventeenth to the nineteenth. Even here he occasionally stumbles: careless generalizations as to what "most people" believe occur repeatedly; the factual accuracy of at least some of his historical evidence is open to question; and a few of his inferences border on the absurd, for example, the suggestion that the "haphazard fenestration" of William Penn's estate—two rear windows irregularly spaced—somehow embodies the contradictions of Penn's whole life. Moreover, the documentation is regrettable; there is no formal bibliography, and the notes at the end of the chapters are often so awkwardly cited as to impair their utility for scholars. Nonetheless, despite these limitations, the author and the publisher of this elegant volume deserve praise: lavishly illustrated, it is relatively modest in price, its format is a usably compact quarto, and a geographical index by state and town and a separate

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index of persons effectively supplement the general index. This useful and highly stimulating volume should soon find its place beside Oliver Larkin's *Art and Life in America* as a basic tool in social and intellectual history.

Duke University I. B. Holley, Jr.

THE COLONIAL HOUSES OF WORSHIP IN AMERICA BUILT IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES BEFORE THE REPUBLIC, 1607–1789, AND STILL STANDING. By *Harold Wickliffe Rose.* (New York: Hastings House. 1963. Pp. xiv, 574. $22.50.) This is the work of a dedicated, patriotic American textile manufacturer with a genuine flair for photography; it is not a work of reference for historians, architectural students, or antiquarians interested in religious lore. The volume is notable for its nearly 400 photographs of 345 edifices which are located on 15 maps. Though he calls these structures all "colonial," Mr. Rose has set 1789 as a terminal date. All praise is due him for the artistic quality of his pictures, which, however, were not taken with the aim of bringing out either the historical or the architectural importance of the structures. The text, alas, reveals a rather complete misunderstanding of the nature and significance of "colonial religion."

Brown University Carl Bridenbaugh

THE NEGRO CHURCH IN AMERICA. By *E. Franklin Frazier.* [Studies in Sociology.] (New York: Schocken Books. 1963. Pp. xii, 92. $3.50.) This is an expansion of a lecture delivered at the University of Liverpool in 1953. The essay took its present form just before Professor Frazier's death in May 1962, and it therefore stands as the matured and, regrettably, final judgment on this topic by a scholar for whom the Negro church had always been a subject of major concern. That judgment turns out to have been a substantial modification of the widely held view—as in Myrdal, Woodson, and Frazier's own *Black Bourgeoisie*—that the Negro church has been little more than an instrument of white social control. Traces of that view persist: "On the whole, the Negro's church was not a threat to white domination and aided the Negro to become accommodated to an inferior status." But there is also strong emphasis on the religious institutions of American Negroes as a constructive force, making for family cohesion, mutual economic aid, education (however intellectually limited), and political experience. To be sure, on his final page Frazier comes back to the more conventional view for today's Negro, who must outgrow "the stifling domination of the church," but this is hardly the impression given by his total historical argument.

University of Massachusetts Paul A. Carter

SAMUEL SEWALL OF BOSTON. By *Ola Elizabeth Winslow.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. vii, 235. $5.95.) Samuel Sewall (1652–1730) claims the attention of posterity almost solely because he wrote a great diary; otherwise, as Miss Winslow explains, "he belonged only to Boston, which was beginning to feel the enlargement" of New England into America by the time the judge died. In her portrait of "Good Mr. Sewall"—merchant, churchman, public official, judge—she limns a transition figure, one who, however old-fashioned a Puritan he may have appeared to youthful contemporaries, was actually "more a man of ongoing Boston in his day than a defender of what had been left behind." In outward mien Sewall may have seemed a trifle conservative, but he ordinarily went along with change. In previous biographies, the author achieved signal successes through deft use of her encyclopedic knowledge of the times in which her subjects lived even though she had little personal material to use. In the present work, she has been embarrassed by the survival of a Letter Book and the bulky Diary, yet she devotes only 208 pages to *Samuel Sewall of Boston* in comparison

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with her allotment of 292 pages to *Master Roger Williams*. It almost seems that the Diary has handicapped her. Or, put differently, some readers will wish that she had given us more of Sewall's own words which so concretely and vividly convey the human qualities of the man and his contemporaries. Sewall dearly loved public functions and wedding parties, and one recalls the terse, poignant notation "Not asked" on the occasion when the guests "had cakes to eat and bring away." Much of changing social attitudes in early eighteenth-century Boston was revealed in the altercation that took place in a bookshop with the Reverend Cotton Mather, and in the diarist's sympathetic recording of bread riots in 1713. As we should expect from such a distinguished scholar and stylist, this book is full of shrewd analyses and insights. It makes both delightful and instructive reading, but one lays it aside with the conviction that a fuller study is required to bring Sewall to life for our day and age.

Brown University CARL BRIDENBAUGH

HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PENNSYLVANIA. In two volumes. By *Saul Sack*. (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1963. Pp. xiii, 382; ix, 383–817. $10.00 the set, postpaid.) This history of higher education in Pennsylvania from its colonial origins to the 1950's covers all types of institutions. The study follows a topical rather than a chronological organization in four parts—"Origins: The Role of the Churches"; "The Trend towards Secularization of Higher Education"; "Scientific and Technical Education"; "Special Aspects of Higher Education." Some attempt is made to "relate the development of higher education to the environment which produced it." There are advantages to this type of organization, but there are also several disadvantages. For instance, a clear picture of the totality of any single institution is lacking, and there is considerable difficulty in capturing a sense of the organic development of these institutions, along with the development of the state and the country as a whole. Early developments are emphasized. Much attention is paid to church-related institutions; yet questions remain in regard to the secularization of higher education in Pennsylvania, and the author lists a number of institutions that "consider themselves . . . independent of any church," but includes colleges that still draw substantial sums of money from church bodies, or have other ties with church organizations. The early history of the colleges is presented in capsule form. Obviously, in a work that attempts to cover so much, there are inadvertent gaps and omissions. By and large, the material is allowed to speak for itself. From time to time the author ventures into interpretation and analysis, such as in the history of higher education of women and of student life. The evolution of the important and unique system of state aid for private colleges and universities in Pennsylvania is covered briefly. The author points out that state control or domination has not accompanied financial aid; perhaps with the Pennsylvania experience in mind, he clearly feels that federal aid need not bring control or regulation from the federal government. There is a brief concluding chapter, "Higher Education in Retrospect." Here the author reviews the changes in the liberal arts curriculum and concludes that, "Despite divergent theories, a liberal education in Pennsylvania in the mid-twentieth century may be so designated, regardless of the disciplines it includes, if it frees the individual to develop as his inclinations and his capacities direct." The author describes the junior college movement in Pennsylvania as "at best . . . static." The study stops before the community college movement had made any real progress in the state. The work is thoroughly documented. There are fifty pages of varied bibliography, but it is clear that the study is based in great measure on official documents of the various institutions, rather than informal documents or those personal in nature. Charters, early financial records, church documents, and the like are stressed. There is a wealth of

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interesting material in these volumes, which will be a convenient reference point for all those who want to make a detailed analysis of aspects of Pennsylvania higher education.

Lincoln University MARVIN WACHMAN

ADVENTURE IN THE WILDERNESS: THE AMERICAN JOURNALS OF LOUIS ANTOINE DE BOUGAINVILLE, 1756–1760. Translated and edited by *Edward P. Hamilton*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 42.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. xx, 344. $3.95.) The translation and editing of the American journals of the navigator, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, Montcalm's aide-de-camp in the last phases of the French and Indian War, make readily available an important source of the period, although the original manuscript has not been found. The present editor, director of Fort Ticonderoga and author of a recent history of the Anglo-French intercolonial wars, has translated a copy of the Bougainville journals published by the archivist of Quebec based on a transcript obtained from Parisian archives by the Canadian historian, Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain. The first portion of this copy was later collated with Francis Parkman's incomplete transcript of the same journals, now owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Those familiar with Parkman's *History* will recall that Bougainville's journals are frequently cited in *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Parkman often quoted the journals in his narrative because they are fascinating to read. An urbane, educated observer, Bougainville was intrigued by the Indians and the panorama of war in the wilderness. His pen ranges over such topics as Canadian society, smallpox epidemics, Indian customs, the suffering of the Acadians, Montcalm's victories, and the final defeat at Quebec. In this edition the excellent illustrations, the index, and the readable type represent the high standard in publishing established by the University of Oklahoma Press. As a translation of copies of an undiscovered original manuscript this edition has certain limitations as a source. But it should be remembered that Parkman compared his transcript of the journal with other evidence and found Bougainville to be a faithful recorder of events in the last years of New France.

University of California, Santa Barbara WILBUR R. JACOBS

GEBURT DER USA: GERMAN NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763–1783. By *Alfred Kröger*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1962. Pp. 313. $4.00.) This book is an informal and rather superficial history of the American Revolution made up from notices about the struggle, which appeared in the *Leipsiger Zeitungen* between 1763 and 1782. Like other works of this type, which depend for their narrative upon personal participation in events and contemporary reports, Herr Kröger's book is lively and readable and gives a sense of contemporaneity and immediacy to the developing struggle. But because this type of material is often fragmentary, inaccurate, and seldom objective, the book presents an imperfect picture of the historical event it purports to describe. This drawback would be of no importance if the volume gave some indication of the impact of the American Revolution upon the German people, but it does not. Kröger ignores the great debate over the meaning and justification of the Revolution carried on by such men as Christoph M. Wieland, Christian F. D. Schubart, August W. Schlözer, Jacob Mauvillon, and Johan Schmohl. All of these men were either newspapermen or wrote for newspapers; thus their work would certainly be pertinent to the purpose of the book as indicated by the subtitle. Also the value of the book, for American scholars, is reduced by the fact that the accounts, and Kröger's commentary, are in German. Actually, despite publication in the United States, the book is designed for German readers. Plainly a "buff" on the American Revolution, Kröger views it as the first vindication of freedom in

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Western civilization after the fall of Rome, and therefore a striking contrast to the modern despotism of Communist revolutions. German protagonists of the Revolution also treated it as a tract for the times, in their case useful as a covert protest against the despotism of petty princelings. The author's concluding sentences might well have come from one of these eighteenth-century commentators: "Now Europe has the last chance to throw overboard the ballast of the past . . . and find again a unity of peoples and purposes. If Europe will not do so, Lexington will have been in vain, and those alone will be free who are not aware of their captivity."

University of North Carolina ELISHA P. DOUGLASS

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Hugh F. Rankin.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1964. Pp. 382. $5.95.) Professor Rankin, coauthor of *Rebels and Redcoats,* has struck off on his own to produce this anthology of contemporary writings by both American and British participants in the Revolutionary War. Concentrating mainly upon military operations on land, the book is more specialized than a similar anthology done recently by Henry S. Commager and Richard B. Morris entitled *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six.* Rankin's selections, derived entirely from printed sources, record the reactions of soldiers and civilians alike and are arranged in such a manner as to provide a narrative account of the war. Drawn from diaries, orderly books, journals, private letters, public documents, newspapers, and periodicals, the writings will convey to the beginning student and general reader the impressions and experiences of numerous contemporaries concerning the conflict. But the scholar will want to delve deeper into these same sources to gain even greater insights into the period. The introductory remarks preceding each selection are sound, with a few exceptions, and tie together the separate pieces into a meaningful whole. Military historians will note with approval that nearly one-third of the book is devoted to campaigns in the South, a theater of operations that does not always receive the attention it merits. As is inevitable in a work of this nature, a few errors have crept in, and certain selections should be approached with great caution. General Howe, for example, was not expected to send troops northward from New York to join Burgoyne's army at Albany. Nor is it quite accurate to suggest that George Rogers Clark was "virtual dictator" over the Indians in the Illinois country save for two subsequent outbreaks after his western campaign of 1779. Thomas Anburey's plagiarism should be kept in mind while reading his selections, and the reminiscences of Timothy Dwight and William Moultrie, among others, were written years after the Revolution. But the book succeeds in re-creating a stirring account of the birth of a new nation in the words of those who were there.

Clark University GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

WITH BURGOYNE FROM QUEBEC: AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AT QUEBEC AND OF THE FAMOUS BATTLE AT SARATOGA. First published as Volume One of *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America.* By *Thomas Anburey.* Edited and with an introduction by *Sydney Jackman.* [Pioneer Books.] (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York. 1963. Pp. 220. $6.50.) British and German participants in the Burgoyne campaign have left us a spate of journals, diaries, and memoirs, a splendid fare compared to the paucity of accounts written on the American side. Few of these have been reproduced in a century or more. Now Mr. Jackman offers us a new edition of the first volume of British Lieutenant Thomas Anburey's *Travels,* in the "Pioneer Books" series on early Canada. Jackman has penned a useful introduction, deleted some trivia, and added notes identifying people and places. Even so, scholars will go to Anburey with more than a little caution. As early as 1943 Whitfield J. Bell pointed out that Anburey's work was for the most part taken from earlier publications by Peters, Chastellux, Kalm, Smyth, Raynal, Burgoyne, and others,

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in addition to the *Annual Register*. To be sure, Anburey wove his sources along with his own commentary into a readable and at times vivid portrait of Canada and America, and it is of considerable interest as a composite European image of America. Although Jackman is aware of Anburey's shortcomings, he could have made this volume infinitely more valuable to serious students by pointing out specifically those portions known to be copied or paraphrased from previous writers.

Louisiana State University DON HIGGINBOTHAM

AMERICANS IN POLYNESIA, 1783–1842. By *W. Patrick Strauss*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1963. Pp. 187. $5.00.) "Here for the first time," according to the publisher, "is the story of America's initial penetration in the South Pacific." Unfortunately, documentary materials are often neglected; thus there is little that is new despite the author's exhaustive examination of available printed materials. Nearly 55 (of 170) pages of the text are devoted to footnotes and to a final chapter, "The Literature of Paradise." Opening chapters discuss the maritime fur traders, the sealers, and the whalers, who came to Polynesia for "produce" (edible) and "refreshment" (women). Few of the connoisseurs of the day would have agreed with the author that the Marquesas were second in importance to Hawaii in the 1790's, for the Marquesas were noted for the beauty and hospitality of their women. A quarter of the volume discusses the missionaries in Hawaii, and, curiously, equal space is given the Wilkes Exploring Expedition of 1838–1842. Sandwiched in between are twelve pages on the navy and six on commercial and consular agents. The limitation as to area and nationality will be often misleading to the unwary. The author makes a valiant attempt to deal only with Americans within Polynesia and to exclude foreigners from the picture, although Captain Cook, a model for Wilkes, gets considerable attention. The author's conclusions are, for the most part, negative. He finds that the Wilkes Expedition did not live up to its high aims, and that the missionaries ruined the natives. Actually it can be demonstrated that the Hawaiians were better off than they would have been had the missionaries not come and stayed. There are other erroneous generalizations. Even a major conclusion that the Polynesian emerged as neither natural man nor depraved barbarian, but a rather indolent aborigine living in a lush paradise, should be questioned. The book indicates how much basic research is needed on Oceania.

University of Hawaii CHARLES H. HUNTER

THE JEWS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1790–1840: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. In three volumes. Edited by *Joseph L. Blau* and *Salo W. Baron*. [Jacob R. Schiff Series of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy, Number 17–19.] (New York: Columbia University Press; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1963. Pp. xxxv, 303; x, 306–668; xi, 670–1034.) The profoundly significant theme of this monumental work is the wandering Jew's discovery at long last that the United States in its first half century of national existence afforded him a physical and spiritual home, his attempt to make the most of this unprecedented opportunity, and the resulting impact on Jewish immigrants and American civilization. The official and actual place of Jews in American life is shown to have been generally excellent, although the protection of the federal Constitution was occasionally impaired by state constitutions and laws. Nevertheless, forty years elapsed before the three thousand American Jews of 1790 doubled in number, after which quickened immigration sent the figure to fifteen thousand by 1840. Jews made almost no cultural contribution in these fifty years. They avoided agricultural in favor of commercial pursuits, concentrating in the early period in major port cities south of New England, especially at Charleston, and subsequently in New York City and Cincinnati. In politics as in family and social patterns, however,

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Jews lived and thought as did their fellow Americans. Since Judaism was the dynamic element in the life of Jews, religion occasioned the most difficult adjustments. Tensions arose between the earlier Sephardic and the later Ashkenazic arrivals, but the Old World community structure of Jewish life never took root in the United States. Instead, Jews resisted efforts to create enclaves. And Judaism, which borrowed from Protestantism, was fragmented by an "open" and denominationalist society. In 1840 their reaction to an episode of foreign anti-Semitism demonstrated an emerging maturity among American Jews, even though this unity was only negative. After half a century "one can say that there was no Jewish life in the United States but only life in the United States as lived by Jews." This is documentary history of the highest type. The editors present a moving story in nine topical parts by skillfully blending carefully chosen documents with superbly informative introductory essays and headnotes. The footnotes are meticulously thorough. These volumes are indispensable for the subject treated and valuable for understanding the entire period.

University of Illinois WINTON U. SOLBERG

THENCE ROUND CAPE HORN: THE STORY OF UNITED STATES NAVAL FORCES ON PACIFIC STATION, 1818–1923. By *Robert Erwin Johnson.* (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1963. Pp. xiii, 276. $7.50.) Mr. Johnson has chronicled the vicissitudes and triumphs of the American Navy's Pacific fleet from its inception in 1818 to its demise 105 years later. Unfortunately, there are many more vicissitudes than triumphs, and the history is a long record of too old and too few ships, inadequate numbers of naval personnel, and a goodly number of mediocre to poor fleet commanders. The author begins his account with the sailing of a small former English frigate, renamed the USS *Macedonian,* which proceeded from Boston in 1818 to the Pacific Ocean "to afford to the persons and property of the citizens of the United States protection and security." He concludes after World War I when the United States fleet detached a battleship section that superseded in both name and mission the historic Pacific fleet. The subject is competently researched, but the book's style suffers somewhat from once having been a dissertation and even more from the limited scope of its subject. By the author's account the last significant naval action of the Pacific fleet was during the Mexican War! The result is that the book, instead of reading like history, is more like a catalogue of cruises from here to tedium. The specialist in naval studies will, nevertheless, welcome this unselective but precise chronological information as to names, numbers, and types of ships employed, missions performed, instructions to commanders, and other data. This is buttressed by informative appendixes and a good bibliography. Handsomely produced by the United States Naval Institute, the book has good typography and design and excellent illustrations.

Michigan State University W. PATRICK STRAUSS

THE WEST OF WILLIAM H. ASHLEY: THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR THE FUR TRADE OF THE MISSOURI, THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, AND THE COLUMBIA, WITH EXPLORATIONS BEYOND THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE, RECORDED IN THE DIARIES AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM H. ASHLEY AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES, 1822–1838. Edited by *Dale L. Morgan.* (Denver, Colo.: Fred A. Rosenstock, the Old West Publishing Company. 1964. Pp. liv, 341. $35.00.) William H. Ashley is a man who looms larger in American history as modern scholarship develops perspective on his era. And now Dale L. Morgan has produced, in this most handsome volume, a quantity of evidence that long will remain the indispensable documentary history of the fur trade and of mountain men during Ashley's era, which stretches from 1822, when Ashley inserted his well-known advertisement in the *Missouri Gazette* asking for men to join his fur trading and exploratory

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expedition, until his death in 1838, long after he had retired from the Indian trade. But Ashley had begun the era of mountan men. (It is possible that some might argue with Morgan on this point, but certainly Ashley gave that era a great impetus.) Morgan has done a prodigious amount of work in the National Archives and in the documentary collections of historical societies and libraries of this country, and some abroad, and he has brought together for the first time a complete documentary history of Ashley's era. He gives the documents, interspersed and connected with comments from information possessed by him alone among scholars. In this volume he has presented all that is known of the life of Ashley; he has summarized, in what I consider a remarkable short essay, the Indian trade in the West before 1822, and, in separate sections, the history of Ashley's partnership and the story of trading beyond the Rocky Mountains. He uses diaries (especially of Ashley's, which Morgan found), letters from many sources, memoirs, drafts, account books, newspapers, and files of estate records to show the history of the fur trade. Much of the evidence presented is new and is eruditely edited and annotated with 793 footnotes, which often contain additional material. One can have only the highest praise for Morgan's research, learning, and writing. His book is well illustrated and has a serviceable index. The map, especially made for this volume, is of inestimable use. In fact, the only fault I can find is with the price, which is well beyond the means of the ordinary scholar. As soon as possible it should be reprinted in a paperback of ordinary size. It is worth noting, however, that the 339 pages, plus 54 pages of introductory chapters, would amount to much more in an ordinary size. Here is a book that students of the fur trade have long needed.

San Diego State College A. P. Nasatir

JUSTICE HOLMES ON LEGAL HISTORY. By *James Willard Hurst.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. xix, 171. $4.95.) On the subject of Holmes and legal history, consult Mark DeWolfe Howe's *The Proving Years,* an intellectual biography with few peers in the whole of our literature and the master of all in the field of American legal scholarship or judicial life history. Professor Hurst's book has its own merits, but they are only remotely related to the misleadingly narrow subject implied in his title. Hurst does not claim to have written an analysis of Holmes as a legal historian, and he is not concerned with either the intellectual roots and primary sources of Holmes's legal scholarship or with his development as a legal historian. This book, rather, is a statement of Hurst's own philosophy of American legal history, though Holmes is a frequent point of reference. Hurst completely lacks his eloquence, grace, and epigrammatic qualities, but matches his suggestiveness and philosophic breadth. The result is a highly conceptualized prologue to the study of our legal history, marked by insights of considerable usefulness to anyone seeking to understand the historical roles played by American law. Hurst sees law in four roles: the legitimate monopoly of coercion, the instrument for enforcing the idea of constitutionalism, the promoter of rational and regularized procedures, and a major force in the governance of the economy. By the "logic of experience," which Hurst views as the interplay of "sequence" and "context," he relates American law to American values, the functioning of many vital social institutions, and the balancing of power among competing interests. His argument, which is very difficult to read and too complex to bear terse summary, borrows from and builds upon his preceding collections of lectures, *Law and the Conditions of Freedom* and *Law and Social Process.* He states that it would be impertinent to present as Holmes's a pattern of ideas to which he never subscribed, "But the Justice left scattered riches which historians can use to their profit." I think that Holmes would have been proud to see his fragmentary suggestions flower into these far more systematic hypotheses for appraising the life of the law in American history.

Brandeis University Leonard W. Levy

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LAW AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: THE LEGAL HISTORY OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY IN WISCONSIN, 1836–1915. By *James Willard Hurst.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xx, 946. $17.50.) In this pioneering study in the social history of American law, the author uses the story of lumbering in Wisconsin to show that the broad stream of small-scale events was as important in the development of American law as the roar of the cataracts of famous cases and great constitutional issues. Delving into federal and state laws and court cases, legislative debates, official reports, and the archives of lumber companies, he has woven many individual strands into a volume that suffers somewhat from repetition, but that makes a valuable contribution to American legal history. Basing his study on the legal concepts of property, contract, police power, and planning by political processes, he investigates law and economic growth, law agencies and economic values, law and the general problems of social organization, and the possibilities of finding new subject matter for legal history. The experience of the lumber industry in Wisconsin, he finds, helped to develop the concept of contracts and, one suspects, of legal notions about the use of waterways. This is not another book about the depredations of the timber thieves. Although the author regrets the clear-cutting and forest fires that made sustained yield and even regeneration impossible, he does not find that the lumbermen were devils but simply that they reacted to the stimuli of their times. Middle-class values dominated nineteenth-century Wisconsin, and what the community wanted was increased physical production. Since lumber was literally less than dirt cheap, and since neither federal nor state governments did anything to limit the exploitation of the forests, there was little concern for waste or for the monopolization of forest resources. Capital and labor were scarce, and timber was plentiful. As a result, timber was lavished, and there was great pressure to get the greatest possible returns on capital and labor. Public policy, which favored putting resources to use, reacted to these pressures, rather than to long-range planning, and the forests were used up quickly. In a sense the lumberman was a public benefactor who cleared the land for the farms that were supposed to follow, even on land clearly suitable only for timber. The laws of the day reflected the objectives and values of the times; in the nineteenth century Wisconsin law hastened the exploitation of the forests, while in the twentieth century it has encouraged their rehabilitation.

University of Minnesota RODNEY C. LOEHR

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF MILWAUKEE. By *Louis J. Swichkow* and *Lloyd P. Gartner.* [Regional History Series of the American Jewish History Center of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy, Number 16.] (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1963. Pp. xix, 533. $6.00.) Clarity of focus, breadth and balance of coverage, and evidence of the authors' thorough grounding in the subject distinguish this history of the Jews of Milwaukee, published under the auspices of the American Jewish History Center as the first in a projected series dealing with the history of the Jewish element in a number of American cities. In Milwaukee's pioneer period, the city's Jewish ingredient was so much a part of the German migration and the resulting German-American culture as to have little group identity other than what Jewish worship and Jewish benevolent and fraternal societies would produce. Increasing social differentiation developed in the later nineteenth century with the waning of Germanism in the city as a whole and with the advent of East European Jews, who contributed Yiddish cultural features to the image of the Jewish community and religious practices at variance with the Reform Judaism that had developed among the earlier arrivals. By the mid-twentieth century, religious affiliation (predominantly Reform or Conservative in character) and a widespread group endorsement of Zionism constituted the

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major factors differentiating Milwaukeeans of Jewish faith from the other residents of the community. Messrs. Swichkow and Gartner have elaborated this story of group evolution with a degree of insight and detail on economic, political, religious, and social developments that makes their book an important contribution not only to Milwaukee and Jewish history but also to the broader study of the interaction between urbanism and the adjustment of immigrants to American life.

New York University BAYRD STILL

REBELLIOUS RANGER: RIP FORD AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST. By *W. J. Hughes.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 300. $5.95.) This work is worthy of attention for several reasons, not the least of which is that it was a dissertation worth doing, and a dissertation that made a book worth reading. There are all too few of these. Author Hughes comments that John Salmon Ford never achieved "higher than the second plateau of eminence." However, Old Rip, as he was called, was one of that small group of first-raters whose hands molded the Southwest into the distinctive region we know today. Arriving in the Lone Star Republic in 1841, he practiced medicine, edited various newspapers, and fought in the political arena. And he was as adept with a six-shooter or a Sharps rifle as he was with his hands, pen, and tongue. All these skills and talents he used in guiding Texas into the Union, fighting in the Mexican War, combating Indian raiders and Mexican bandits, and working for a Confederate victory. Following the Civil War, Old Rip was suffering from many wounds, both physical and mental, but still he served his state. As a senior captain of the Texas Rangers, he patrolled the Rio Grande Valley, and as a respected citizen he worked to end the bitterness of Reconstruction and to replace carpetbaggers with honest officials. In his declining years Ford was still pioneering: as mayor of Brownsville, as a state senator, as superintendent of the Texas Deaf and Dumb Institution, and as a consultant to various commissions. After he retired, the old Ranger realized that an era was ending, a very unique period of American history, and he worked to preserve the record of the events in which he had participated both by writing about his experiences and by helping establish the Texas State Historical Association. In November 1897 he died—a man who had always answered his state's call with the words, "Ready; aye, ready." Perhaps this biography, along with the recent edition of Ford's memoirs, will rescue him from an undeserved anonymity. *Rebellious Ranger* has its flaws, but they are too minor to enumerate. Hughes searched out his material, and he wrote a rousing story. All in all, this is a book worth putting on your library shelf.

University of Arizona ODIE B. FAULK

HENRY STEVENS OF VERMONT: AMERICAN RARE BOOK DEALER IN LONDON, 1845–1886. By *Wyman W. Parker.* (Amsterdam: N. Israel. 1963. Pp. 348. $7.50.) Scholars who know the worth of great libraries seldom recognize the debt they owe to great bookdealers. A century after Henry Stevens' time, scholars in certain fields, in both America and England, profit from his knowledge, activity, and acumen, and a century hence scholars may still be profiting. A Yankee bookdealer in London, operating at the opportune moment when rich American collectors were willing to buy and when wanted books were available in English and continental markets, Stevens, more than any other single dealer, helped build the John Carter Brown Library, the Lenox Library (now a part of the New York Public Library), and the Peter Force Library (now in the Library of Congress). For many years, under the direction of that remarkable librarian, Panizzi, who made the British Museum a national library, he was its sole supplier of books relating to North and South America, and of American imprints. He organized the exchange of Smithsonian publications for those of learned societies abroad. As a young man in Connecticut, he discovered and transcribed original

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manuscripts of historical value, and in England, following Brodhead's example, he arranged for the copying of colonial manuscripts in English archives. He played a part in the early public library movement. And, through his charm, his knowledge, and the connections he came to have in England and America, he probably contributed, unwittingly, to Anglo-American understanding. A life of Stevens, therefore, is justifiable. Surviving are his business documents, a few other letters, his own *Recollections,* and his publications, sixty-seven of them, mostly bibliographical in nature. A biographer who has scanty material is the more obligated to ask questions of it. Mr. Parker has not asked enough. Stevens helped support himself in his youth by teaching penmanship. What hand did he write? Where had he learned it? We are not told, though the answer, not too difficult to find, would have illuminated his character. And how accurate was Stevens' knowledge of rare books? Seeing the fine copies of Americana in the Grenville Library in the British Museum, Stevens realized that in his first great coup as a poor dealer in London, without working capital, he had sold to John Carter Brown a number of imperfect copies. Parker never compared Stevens' later descriptions of books with those of other dealers, or other bibliographers; nor has he attempted to evaluate the merits of Stevens' writings. He has written an informative, but not a critical, biography.

Cape Porpoise, Maine STANLEY PARGELLIS

FOUR YEARS IN THE CONFEDERATE NAVY: THE CAREER OF CAPTAIN JOHN LOW ON THE C. S. S. FINGAL, FLORIDA, ALABAMA, TUSCALOOSA, AND AJAX. By *William Stanley Hoole.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 147. $5.00.) An important figure in the somewhat neglected field of Confederate naval history has at last received his due. Born in Aberdeen, Scotland, John Low came to America in 1856. The Civil War broke out just as he had become established in several maritime enterprises, and, because of his nautical experience, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Confederate Navy and sent to England to assist James Bulloch in providing cruisers for the South. Low's first success was in getting the raider, C. S. S. *Fingal,* in late 1861, safely from England to the Confederacy via Bermuda. His next achievement was in the delivery of the cruiser, C. S. S. *Florida,* to the southerners at Nassau in the Bahamas in May 1862. Low's signal service to the Confederacy came later in 1862 and in 1863 when he was instructed to enlist the crew for the most famous of all southern raiders, the C. S. S. *Alabama.* Appointed a lieutenant aboard this ship, Low participated in a number of Captain Raphael Semmes's most audacious ventures with the *Alabama.* Then, in the summer of 1863, Semmes appointed Low master of a captured vessel, renamed C. S. S. *Tuscaloosa.* In a notable cruise in the South Atlantic, the *Tuscaloosa* was finally seized by the British in South Africa in December 1863. (The account of the activities of this ship—based upon a hitherto undiscovered logbook—is an important historical contribution.) Returning to Liverpool, Low's final service was the delivery of C. S. S. *Ajax* from England to Bermuda in early 1865. Low returned to England after the war and enjoyed a successful business career in Lancashire. He died in Liverpool in 1906 at the age of seventy. This slender book by William Stanley Hoole, librarian of the University of Alabama, is based on research in England and the United States. Though not directly documented by footnotes, the book has a chapter-by-chapter reference to sources and works consulted. There are maps, several good illustrations, a bibliography, and a helpful index.

Pennsylvania State University WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

MARK TWAIN IN VIRGINIA CITY. By *Paul Fatout.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 240. $6.50.) Mark Twain arrived in Nevada in August 1861. He was a reporter on the staff of the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise* from September

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1862 until his departure for San Francisco near the end of May 1864. Twain gives an account of these three years in surviving letters, his writing while he was in Nevada, *Roughing It,* and *Mark Twain's Autobiography.* Additional information is available in such works as A. B. Paine's biography, Ivan Benson's *Mark Twain's Western Years,* Effie Mona Mack's *Mark Twain in Nevada,* Edgar Marquess Branch's *The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain,* and *Mark Twain of the Enterprise,* edited by Henry Nash Smith and Frederick Anderson. In *Mark Twain in Virginia City* Professor Paul Fatout has depended primarily on original sources. No file of the *Territorial Enterprise* for those years exists, but newspapers in Nevada and California reprinted many items from it, commented editorially on activities in Virginia City, and published letters from Washoe correspondents. By combing the extensive files of these newspapers now preserved in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, the author has been able to make a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Virginia City and of Twain's personality, writings, human relations, and reputation during his three years in Nevada. This book is authentic, well organized, and well written. Fatout discovers additional writings of Twain, gives details of the flush times of 1863 and the decline of prosperity thereafter, reprints material concerning the origin of the pseudonym "Mark Twain," recovers most of the contributions to the lost *Weekly Occidental* (there was only one issue), describes the furor when Twain occasionally stirred up a hornet's nest or "played hell," shows that Twain's reputation as the most popular and the best writer in the West did not come until after he had gone to San Francisco, contrasts Twain's later nostalgia concerning life in Virginia City with certain moods of irritation and frustration while he was living there, and concludes that Twain's Nevada years were of permanent value in his development as a writer.

University of Texas D. M. McKeithan

CHANGE IN THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTH. Edited by *Allan P. Sindler.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 247. $7.50.) In July 1962 the department of political science at Duke University held a conference on "The Impact of Political and Legal Change in the Postwar South." This volume consists of the eight principal papers delivered at that conference, plus an epilogue in the form of a commentary on the papers by the editor, Professor Allan P. Sindler, who also served as a cochairman of the meeting. The contributors include a historian, an economist, a law professor, two sociologists, and five political scientists. While two of the chapters are broadly concerned with cultural and economic shifts in the modern South, the areas of major emphasis are the evolution of race relations, including Negro voting, and the shaping of new political patterns in the region. Thomas D. Clark leads off with an overview of southern institutions and ideas since Reconstruction. Joseph J. Spengler then reviews demographic and economic change in the South during the last two decades. John P. Frank examines legal developments in race relations since 1945, and, in an engaging essay, Edgar T. Thompson discusses the role of race in connection with social change in the South. One of the most interesting chapters is the sophisticated analysis of Negro voting situations in the southern states by Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro. The papers by Robert J. Steamer, Donald S. Strong, and Philip E. Converse, as well as portions of Sindler's commentary, all deal with political change in the South since World War II. The individual approach in these essays varies from southern disaffection with the national Democratic party to the development of a durable brand of southern Republicanism to the question of a major political realignment in the region below the Potomac. This section, along with the chapter on Negro registration, tends to be more analytical in nature and to rest more completely on empirical research than the rest of the book. Despite some differences over the rate of political change now occurring, there is general agreement among these scholars as to the steady convergence

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of southern and nonsouthern political practices in the United States. More generally, the ten writers demonstrate the varied response of southerners to the revolutionary developments of the last generation, and their appraisals also suggest the difficulty of measuring the depth and scope of such changes. The essays on politics are probably the most valuable to the student of recent American history, although all of the contributions are interesting and pertinent to the theme of change in the contemporary South.

Vanderbilt University DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

McKINLEY, BRYAN, AND THE PEOPLE. By *Paul W. Glad.* [Critical Periods of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1964. Pp. 222. $3.95.) Paul Glad here analyzes the political upheaval of the 1890's, focusing on the election of 1896. He sees the crisis as a symptom of rural-urban, agrarian-industrial transition and unrest. Though he does not offer any startling new information or interpretation, he writes intelligently of party politics, the silver question, Populism, and broader issues like social change and class alignments. The book is basically a synthesis of existing information and interpretations, but the author has researched his work well. Bryan, the Populists, and the silver Democrats get better coverage than their opponents. Their story is more colorful, exciting, and attractive to most historians than Republican politics. Glad seriously appraises McKinley and his party, but he slights both. He seems not to understand or to be interested in the program of economic nationalism that motivated the GOP. He grants McKinley's political skill, but too often dismisses him as a tool of "Big-Business." He does not fully analyze his consistent support of tariff reciprocity, labor, sound money, civil service reform, and what was for his era a distinctly liberal Republican viewpoint. The Republican desire for sound money, harmony, and national prosperity was as broad, logical, and vital as Bryan's program. It was less exciting because it was more sensible. Glad dislikes McKinley's political platitudes, but usually accepts Bryan's as philosophy. He correctly holds that both men and their followers avoided basic or radical reforms. He argues that Populism was realistic and progressive. I still wonder how radical and valid Populism really was, and how much of its appeal among historians is retrospective. It is unlikely that free silver and its attendant program could have been instituted in the 1890's, or that it would have realigned the American scene. But these are only honest differences of view. This book should be judged in terms of its purpose as well as its content. It aims to introduce the era and its issues in a brief space and in a clear manner; the author has succeeded in that task.

University of Texas H. WAYNE MORGAN

THE AUTOMOTIVE CAREER OF RANSOM E. OLDS. By *Glenn A. Niemeyer.* [MSU Business Studies 1963.] (East Lansing: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University. 1963. Pp. xiii, 233. $6.50.) A number of factors justify the concern of historians and economists with the automobile industry. Truly a twentieth-century business, and now one of the mainstays of the American economy, it provides a significant index of technological development, innovation, and social change. Its pioneers and founders, moreover, figure prominently in the folklore of success. Within this context, the business career of Ransom E. Olds certainly deserves a place in the scholarly literature. Mr. Niemeyer makes an effective contribution, developing the theme of the innovator and industrial pioneer, without failing to show also that Olds was dependent on others for technical and financial assistance. This monograph provides useful details of innovation in the automobile industry, including experiments with a variety of engines, body design, and car size, as well as new marketing, sales, and advertising techniques. Niemeyer traces the business progress of Olds from junior partner with his father and brother in the production of steam engines, one of which he used to power his first

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horseless carriage (Lansing, 1887), to the profitable harnessing of internal combustion within the curved dash Oldsmobile. By 1903 the Olds Motor Works was the "most successful automobile company in the country," with sales that year of four thousand cars and a return of 105 per cent on original investment. But business success is not immune to risk. After a policy dispute with financial backers from Detroit, Olds decided to sell his stockholdings in the motor works that bore his name and, with other investors, founded the new REO Car Company. Olds's subsequent struggle for industrial leadership, in the course of a generation (to his permanent retirement in 1936), reflected the automobile industry's shifting fortunes. These included early patent disputes, merger movements, tariff problems, and the effects of the business cycle. This study is primarily descriptive rather than analytical, and it lacks the color and breadth found in some business biographies. The promise of the title is, nonetheless, fulfilled competently.

Paterson New Jersey State College JOSEPH BRANDES

CATTLE RAISING OF THE PLAINS, 1900–1961. By *John T. Schlebecker.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 323. $6.00.) In the mid-1880's a big die-up occurred in the western cattle industry, pursued implacably by a disastrous drop in beef prices and thousands of miles of strands of barbed wire. By the time the census recorder of 1890 and Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893 had disposed theologically of free land, historians took this conjunction of forces and facts to dispose of the cattle industry, except for those types which produce milk and Wisconsin cheese. To get anything authoritative on western cattle after about 1893 required jig-sawing through scattered manuscripts and statistics that hardly justified the time required for the scholar wanting to treat the cattle industry as a part of the western experience. The curtain seemed to have closed on cattle before the end of the nineteenth century, and despite the rise in our per capita consumption of beef, the curtain remained closed. In large part Professor Schlebecker has remedied this situation. Like the eponymous hero of "Charlie, My Boy," he seems to start where others—all of them—leave off. Working chronologically and clearly, the author opens and closes the range in sixteen pages and then traces the uneven procedure of the cattle industry as it shifted terrain, got rich in two world wars, modernized its techniques, and progressed—if to us sentimentalists that is progress—to an age of biochemistry; or, as Schlebecker succinctly puts it, as the cattle industry became "less an adventure and more a business." Along the way the cattleman became increasingly a partner of the federal government. He actively sought Washington for help against prairie dogs or tick fever, or he accepted it for national forest ranges or for aid against other diseases. Eventually, as any morning newspaper reader knows, the cattleman and the government walked arm in arm down the path of credit and subsidy as a front against foreclosure and in antitrust activities to ward off packers. I cannot find fault with this book. The author writes with an economy worthy of a Great Plains immigrant; he proceeds straight from point to point; he neither ducks issues nor avoids forthright interpretations. He has written a book that will show up hereafter in every decent bibliography concerned with the broad western experience; he has also written a book that can provide insights to every intelligent American concerned with the present-day agricultural situation.

University of Texas JOE B. FRANTZ

RACE AND RADICALISM: THE NAACP AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN CONFLICT. By *Wilson Record.* [Communism in American Life; Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 237. $5.95.) Wilson Record in 1951 wrote an important book, *The Negro and the Communist Party.* The first objective study of its kind, it received justifiable praise. But the law of diminishing returns has set in with this volume, which, while updating Record's previous mono-

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graph, adds very little to it primarily because the Communist party has literally been without influence since the early 1950's. The focus of the two books is slightly different since *Race and Radicalism* concentrates on Communist relationships with the NAACP rather than with Negroes as such. But that is about the extent of it. This book was unquestionably written to prove that the NAACP historically has been a bitter foe of the Communist party rather than a vehicle through which the latter has operated. Undeniably, Communists were able on rare occasions to infiltrate the association, notably on the local level, but as Record makes clear, in situation after situation they were never able to direct its policies. Many segregationist die-hards, of course, still maintain that the NAACP is a Communist front or a Communist dupe, but only because, as Wendell Phillips said, they read history not with their eyes but with their prejudices. The Communist party failed miserably to exert substantial leadership among American Negroes because its primary allegiance has always been to Moscow. Consequently, when the Kremlin's ideological line has been at variance with American realities, as it so often was in the last four and one-half decades, the party's appeal to Negroes, as well as to everyone else, was all but evanescent. During the party's early years, its Soviet mentors failed to recognize that "race discrimination was one of the most vulnerable spots in the capitalist armor." Later when they did, their policy of self-determination for Negroes in the black belt was so bizarre as to repel them. But perhaps the most damaging twist was the Communist insistence that Negroes abandon their struggle for human rights during World War II in the interest of victory for the "Soviet fatherland." Throughout the three decades from 1920 to 1950, the NAACP was anything but a robust organization. Its appeal to the Negro community was limited. Yet its persistent efforts were sufficient initially to hold the allegiance of Negro intellectuals and professionals, and later in the 1950's it helped lead a mass movement that has eventuated in our present-day "Negro Revolution," and this without Communist support and indeed with considerable obstruction. The American Communists, then, can claim little or no leadership in the civil rights movement of 1964.

University of Massachusetts HOWARD H. QUINT

THE AUTOMOBILE UNDER THE BLUE EAGLE: LABOR, MANAGEMENT, AND THE AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURING CODE. By *Sidney Fine.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 566. $15.00.) This fine monograph, one of the best that I have read on the New Deal, is based on a wide range of primary sources. The book gives data on the industry generally and on conditions in various auto plants, and it contains good accounts of the major auto strikes from 1933 to 1935. But Fine concentrates primarily on high-level administrative relations: the Auto Code under the National Recovery Administration, President Roosevelt and his top appointees, company executives, the leaders of the AFL and of UAW federal labor unions. Some students of the New Deal have contended that the NRA might have worked well had it been applied only to a few major industries. This contention is not supported by the evidence used here for auto manufacturing. Since the industry in 1933 had no problem of destructive price cutting, its code did not deal with trade practices at all. The code was drafted almost exclusively by the companies, and their trade association served in effect as the code authority. They succeeded in keeping their operations, including even their relations to suppliers and dealers, exempt from the authority of all other codes. In practice most of the impact of the NRA on the industry came in the area of labor relations. Here it had some good effects. It spread available work among more employees working fewer hours, raised some pay rates (especially of women), and helped induce the manufacturers to bring out new models in the autumn rather than in January, with beneficial effects on the stability of output and employment. This final change, since it tended to reduce overhead cost per unit produced,

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would have benefited the companies at any time, but they did not make it until they were subjected to considerable public criticism. The other major participants in the events recounted here, excepting some leaders of local unions, do not look especially efficient either. The AFL followed policies, culminating in actions at the Motor Products plant that even a friendly critic might be tempted to call strikebreaking, that drove auto workers out of the federation altogether. Similarly, Fine concludes that the psychological stimulus of Section 7a and the effects of the Auto Labor Board in impeding discharges of unionists contributed to the growth of industrial unions. But none of the top government officials involved sought this result. Certainly FDR did not. He supported management in its desire to impose "proportional representation" in collective bargaining, although the formula was not used in any other industry. His notions on the calculation of job tenure rights were contrary to the union focus on seniority. Fine concludes that the President, in dealing personally with major issues between labor and management, "had leaned in the direction of" the latter. Sometimes he leaned hard. The author assures his readers that abundant materials on other codes are available. May they be exploited soon.

Brandeis University RAY GINGER

THE TRUMAN COMMITTEE: A STUDY IN CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. By *Donald H. Riddle.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 207. $6.00.) The Truman Committee, officially the Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, existed from 1941 to 1948. Most of the committee's work embraced investigation of problems of war mobilization; shortages of critical materials; programs relating to supply of equipment and facilities (including waste and inefficiency); and war frauds, including those of war contractors, "influence peddlers," and government officials. The committee did not concern itself with military strategy and tactics. Professor Riddle's book is, as the title suggests, an inquiry into the operations of the Truman Committee as a responsible investigating committee, in contrast to those irresponsible congressional committees that have had so much notoriety throughout our history. It is well written and makes good use of the author's major sources, namely, the published hearings and reports of the committee supplemented by its files in the National Archives, and personal interviews with committee and staff members. The author uses the case method to illustrate the committee's behavior in a number of investigations falling within the general categories of problems listed above. Riddle describes those committee activities leading to the establishment of the War Production Board, those dealing with the rubber shortage, those tracking down careless inspection of airplane engines at Curtiss Wright, and the Canol project involving wasteful construction of a gasoline pipeline extending 550 miles over unsurveyed, and in some cases unmapped, Canadian territory. This volume provides interesting insight into the problems of industrial mobilization and its administration during a major war effort. Its real contribution, however, lies in its analysis of standards of committee responsibility. Does the committee reflect some concept of the public interest or the personal economic, political, or sectional interests of its chairman and members? Are its criticisms constructive or destructive? Does the committee emphasize broad policy or minute detail? Does it exercise restraint in substituting its judgment for that of the responsible administrative officials? Does it pursue the full facts thoroughly and vigorously and then use its power for influencing public opinion so that the demonstrable facts are presented honestly and fairly? Does the committee stay within the limits of its mission? Are its methods of operation fair to those who come under its scrutiny? Using these criteria, Riddle is persuasive in his judgment that the Truman Committee provides a standard of operation for all congressional investigating committees to follow,

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and one against which the public responsibility of each can be fairly and effectively tested.

Wells College D. Joy Humes

FOREIGN AID AND FOREIGN POLICY. By *Herbert Feis.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 246. $5.00.) Mr. Feis has brought into play his distinguished gifts as both an economist and a historian in this timely study of foreign aid. It is not a book comparable in purpose, length, or detail to his well-known volumes on the diplomacy of World War II, but is rather a tract for our times written, as Feis himself states in his preface, "with the hope that its historical perspective and analytical comments will steady foreign aid policy." After discussing the background for the aid program and present-day actualities, the author realistically explores "the hindrances" to its effective operation and the continuing dilemmas that are everywhere encountered in making the over-all program meet the broader needs of foreign policy. These problems are familiar: How can the United States be assured of reasonable support, if not undying friendship and cheerful gratitude, from the recipients of its aid in terms of cold war politics? How can it encourage the democratic and economic reforms that are generally believed to be essential for the underdeveloped nations without being vilified for unwarranted interference in their domestic affairs? How can it successfully overcome the often seemingly insuperable obstacles in the aid program's active implementation? As would be expected, Feis is neither defeatist nor starry-eyed in examining these programs; he is objectively realistic. He does strongly believe, however, that foreign aid is an essential arm of foreign policy, not only in seeking to strengthen the position of the United States (and Western democracy) against the challenge of international Communism, but in fulfilling a moral responsibility by endeavoring to reduce the present dangerous gap between wealthy and poor nations. In this otherwise comprehensive survey it seems unfortunate that only a brief two pages deal with the overriding problem of the pressure of population expansion in the underdeveloped nations. In more general terms, however, Feis persuasively develops his moderate, well-reasoned position on foreign aid's continuing importance to our foreign policy.

Ohio State University Foster Rhea Dulles

PEACE RIVER CHRONICLES: EIGHTY-ONE EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS FROM THE FIRST EXPLORATION IN 1793 OF THE PEACE RIVER REGION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA INCLUDING THE FINLAY AND THE PARSNIP RIVER BASINS. Selected and edited by *Gordon E. Bowes.* (Vancouver: Prescott Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. 557. $6.50.) The editor of this collection undertook the project after he discovered that no comprehensive history of the region was available. He has produced a well-illustrated book, aimed at the semipopular market, which attempts to recount the history of the region through the words of those who made it. The agricultural potential of the Peace River country, the furthest contiguous extension to the northwest of North America's mid-continental wheatlands, was recognized at an early date. The first homesteaders took up their pre-emptions in 1912, hoping for the early arrival of railways, but the First World War and the depression upset their plans. The construction of the Alaska Highway during the Second World War helped to open the region, but direct rail connection with the Pacific coast ports was not completed until the autumn of 1958. By the latter date the development of natural gas, oil, and other mineral resources, and the prospect of harnessing the hydroelectric potential of the Peace River, gave promise of a more diversified economy in the future. A considerable portion of the material (diaries, surveyors' reports, settlers' memoirs and letters) was previously unpublished. The editor's introductory notes provide adequate continuity.

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The earlier excerpts from the pens of fur traders, gold seekers, suveyors, and settlers (with editorial assistance in spelling and punctuation) should provide helpful insights for undergraduate students into the process of settlement. Some of the journalistic accounts of more recent years, intended originally to amuse the urban reader, are of more questionable value. In summary, Gordon Bowes has filled a lacuna with a better than average popular regional history, and he has provided the added bonus of a useful bibliography for this historiographically neglected region.

University of Waterloo K. A. MacKirdy

BROWN OF *THE GLOBE*. Volume II, STATESMAN OF CONFEDERATION, 1860–1880. By *J. M. S. Careless*. (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York. 1963. Pp. ix, 406. $7.50.) The second volume of this biography of George Brown, Canadian journalist, businessman, politician, and agriculturist, has all the virtues of the first (*AHR*, LXVI [July 1961], 1099), with perhaps a warmer presentation. This warmth may arise from the author's having a more human person with whom to deal. Brown married in 1862. Circumstances kept him, a family man at heart, constantly apart from his wife, Anne. Brown's letters to Anne provide a rich source, exploited to the full by the author. This volume, as Professor Careless states, "particularly concentrates on the period between 1860 and the establishment of Confederation in 1867." Above all, "it tries to give George Brown his due weight in the story of Confederation. . . . Brown has sorely needed re-examination." Certainly, Brown's part in the Confederation story is told here circumstantially and in great detail, once and for all. Students of Canadian history who have felt regret that Brown was not able to stay with the government until Confederation was accomplished will appreciate the statement: Brown "saw nothing to regret. Nor need a later age regret for him." The biography, however, does not fade away after 1867, for Brown retained an active interest in politics until his death in 1880. His place in the Liberal party and his position on the *Globe* gave him an "important role" in the years following 1867. The later chapters provide also a good history of the *Globe* and Brown's place as a newspaperman, hitherto obscured by his political career. Indeed, he did scoop the entire press of Canada with the text of the British North America bill. Careless has used all the available sources with good judgment and without bias. Since significant new sources are not likely to come to light we now have the definitive biography of Brown.

University of Western Ontario James J. Talman

FLORENTINE CODEX. Book 11, EARTHLY THINGS. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations by *Charles E. Dibble* and *Arthur J. O. Anderson*. [Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, Number 14, Part XII.] (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School of American Research and University of Utah. 1963. Pp. 297. $15.00.) The eleventh book of Sahagún's masterpiece concerns the "earthly things" of the Aztec world—animals, plants, metals, soils—and a few man-made things such as jars, roads, and houses. Mexican flora and fauna receive the main attention. Writing in the colonial sixteenth century, Sahagún at times describes his own contemporary environment, and at other times the pre-Spanish environment as reported by Indian informants of the first or second postconquest generation. Human and physical geography figures in many of the descriptions, as in the uses to which various plants were put, the methods of native agriculture, and the construction of buildings from stone or clay. As in other portions previously published, Dibble and Anderson place the Nahuatl text and the English translation in parallel columns, with notes referring to questions of modern identification or to special translation problems. The work contains a glossary of Nahuatl terms and reproduc-

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tions of the *Florentine Codex* illustrations. This is an important section of one of the foremost translation projects of our time.

State University of Iowa CHARLES GIBSON

A CANA-DE-AÇÚCAR EM MINAS GERAIS. By *Miguel Costa Filho.* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool. 1963. Pp. 415.) In a series of short chapters this work discusses a variety of topics concerning the pioneer sugar industry in Minas Gerais. There are informative chapters filled with detailed information on the construction, equipment, cost, labor problems, transportation, trade, markets, and individual pioneers of the sugar industry. The social and cultural aspects of the industry are considered as well as the efforts of the sugar producers to win legal favors and support from the provincial legislature. The author suggests that the beginnings of the industry in Minas Gerais date from the introduction of the *engenho de açúcar* by Antonio de Araujo dos Santos in 1705 at a place then called Coralhino in present Rio Acima. By that date sugar was dearer than food or clothing imported from Europe. The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais had created new markets for sugar and *aguardente* and a prosperity that encouraged the rapid establishment of many *engenhos* in the mining region. The second phase began in 1714 when the governor of the Minas area took the first steps to prevent the further construction of *engenhos* in the mining region; he also tried to force the destruction of those already built, especially the ones engaged in making *aguardente* and *caçhaca.* These intoxicating beverages were sold to the Negroes and contributed to public disorder. The governor argued that the Negroes used to plant, harvest, and crush the cane could be more profitably used in mining, and he complained that the sugar industry offered a cover for illegal mining and smuggling. Periodically throughout the colonial period the Portuguese crown tried to prevent the construction of new mills. Not until 1827 did the third phase of the *engenho de açúcar* history begin when the law was revised to allow construction of mills without prior royal approval. The production of sugar and its intoxicating derivatives continued much in the colonial pattern until 1884, when the *usinas* were first incorporated in Minas Gerais and by their methods of operation separated the agricultural and industrial functions. This marked the end of the pioneer phase of the sugar industry in Minas Gerais. By an excellent use of a wide variety of sources the author has presented an important study of a neglected aspect of the Minas Gerais economy. As a supplement to the major activities of mining and coffee production, sugar played an interesting and not unimportant role in the early economic development of one of Brazil's most important states.

University of Houston CHARLES A. BACARISSE

MAYO DOCUMENTAL. Volumes II and III. [Documentos para la historia argentina, Numbers 30 and 31.] (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani." 1962. Pp. 286; 282.) These two volumes admirably fulfill the promise Dr. Ricardo Caillet-Bois made in his introduction to the first volume to bring together edited and unedited documents that will provide information on the attitude of the European powers toward the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata and on events in the viceroyalty itself from 1808 to 1811. The second volume encompasses the period from June 17 to September 2, 1808, and the third, from September 3 to October 12, 1808. At this time Ferdinand VII was Napoleon's prisoner in France, and various contestants had appeared to claim all or part of Spain and its possessions in America. Among the claimants was Carlota Joaquina of Brazil. To judge from the correspondence assembled here, her original objective was not to claim Spain and its American colonies for herself, but, as regent, to keep Spain and its empire intact

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until Ferdinand VII was released or the crown had passed to his legitimate heir. She was decidedly opposed to Portuguese conquest of the Spanish colonies in the Río de la Plata, and so was Great Britain. Her first steps to secure recognition as regent of the Spanish American colonies apparently were taken under the guidance of the commander of the British fleet in the South Atlantic, Sir Sidney Smith. Smith's instructions from Lord Castlereagh, the evidence suggests, were to prevent French conquest of Spanish America and the disintegration of the Spanish Empire in America. However, the British minister in Brazil, Lord Strangford, represented Lord Canning, and he directed his energies to fostering independence movements in Spanish America. Why Smith and Strangford pursued different goals, and whether or not their conduct reflected the division within the British cabinet, a possibility that seems to have been overlooked in standard studies of British policy in the Río de la Plata, may become clearer in future volumes of *Mayo documental*. The documents also show how successful the *Junta Suprema Central* of Seville was in seeking an alliance with the ecclesiastical hierarchy to resist any plan for French absorption of the colonies or for independence. The alliance neutralized Viceroy Santiago Liniers, the small French community in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and the republicans. The intentions of Liniers, the nimble Frenchman, remain obscure. He pledged continued loyalty to Ferdinand VII, and with the exception of a local element, he maintained cordial relations with everyone interested in the future of the viceroyalty. Other documents provide insights into the conduct of Governor Javier de Elio of Montevideo and the emissaries of Napoleon and the junta of Seville and into the economic conditions prevailing in the viceroyalty. *Mayo documental* must be consulted by students seeking to understand the last years of the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.

Boston College JOSEPH T. CRISCENTI

LA ANTIGUA PROVINCIA DEL SOCORRO Y LA INDEPENDENCIA. By *Horacio Rodríguez Plata.* [Biblioteca de historia nacional, Volume XCVIII. Edición conmemorativa del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia.] (Bogotá: Publicaciones Editoriales. 1963. Pp. xv, 807.) Today, Socorro is a secondary city in Colombia, but in colonial times it was the capital of a province and considered itself a rival to Santa Fe de Bogotá. One of the points made by Horacio Rodríguez Plata, historian, former president of the Colombian Academy of History, and distinguished son of Socorro, in this study of the province of Socorro during the wars of independence is that the province never really recovered from the hardship and loss of men it suffered then. Rodríguez Plata covers the whole era; he begins with the patriots' seizure of the provincial government in 1810, continues through the interprovincial rivalries of the *Patria Boba,* then the Spanish reconquest under Morillo from 1815 to 1819, and concludes with the Bolivarian return to 1825. Although the book is over seven hundred pages long, and we are told that the author devoted twenty years to it, only the first part, on the 1810 revolution, is a finished account. For the rest, he largely publishes documents, some important, some not, which makes the coverage spotty. And, not surprisingly, interpretations based on local patriotism thread through the book. What does emerge very clearly is that the active leaders of Socorro's revolution were the well educated (around the *cabildo*), the well off, and the parish priests; that these men spoke the natural law language of the North American revolution; that they wanted local autonomy, against the Spaniards and against Bogotá. Rodríguez Plata takes the usual view of the Spanish "pacification" from 1815 to 1819 as a series of executions and exactions, although his documents show considerable concern by the Spanish authorities for developing the provincial economy. Much heavier demands on the province for men, money, and supplies were made by Santander and Bolívar's governors after 1819. It would be worth while to study how and whether Socorro's local leadership survived the trying years of military govern-

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ment, Spanish and Bolivarian, coupled with an investigation of the support of the populace for the revolution, for pro-Spanish sentiment rose and fell inversely with Bolívar's battlefield successes, and Bolívar's governors had to dragoon men and force aid out of the province.

Brandeis University MILTON I. VANGER

THE CASTE WAR OF YUCATAN. By *Nelson Reed*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 308. $7.50.) One of the most dramatic episodes in Mexican history was the caste war in Yucatán. This bloody affair, which began in 1847, was the Indians' response to the white men's economic encroachments: development of plantation agriculture, pre-emption of native water sources, peonage, and white migration to the uncultivated frontier. In the beginning the Indians were successful and drove the whites completely out of many Yucatec towns, such as Valladolid. Mérida, the capital, was saved to the whites, probably because when planting time arrived the Indians abandoned their military activities and returned home to cultivate their fields. In 1849 and 1850 the white men succeeded in recapturing most of the populated centers. This did not, however, mean total victory, for the Indians migrated to the unmapped southern and eastern areas of Yucatán. Simultaneously with the population shift there arose a new native religion, the cult of the "Speaking Cross," so called because the Indians believed this to be the literal truth. From their new center around the cross the rebels held out for approximately fifty years. While the white population turned its back on the native problem and played at Mexican politics, the Indians established a new social order for themselves and carried on a constant guerrilla war which did not end until they were finally subdued in the early twentieth century. Mr. Reed has not only written a fine account of the caste war; he has also given us the first penetrating analysis of the social and economic systems of Yucatán in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

University of Missouri WALTER V. SCHOLES

ASPIRAÇÕES NACIONAIS: INTERPRETAÇÃO HISTÓRICO-POLÍTICA. By *José Honório Rodrigues*. (São Paulo: Editôra Fulgor. 1963. Pp. 162.) José Honório Rodrigues, Brazil's distinguished and forceful historian, has here turned his attention to national character and problems. He has avoided the more difficult question of national interest. Brazilianists already know him for his studies of historiography, bibliography, and archives and his leadership of the National Library. More recently, after years of research and publication on Dutch and other European influences upon Brazil, Rodrigues turned his attention to Afro-Brazilian historical and cultural connections. His recent *Brazil and Africa* is now being translated into English by the University of California Press. This puts him in the company of Brazil's other well-known historian, Gilberto Freyre, who has many times noted the Luso-tropical and Afro-Brazilian guidelines to Brazilian history and society. This brief history of the national forces is an excellent summary of Brazilian society, government, economy, and history. The approach is essentially that of the civilian historian: in 156 pages he mentioned the military only 5 times, albeit as a democratic and civic-minded force. At the same time, Rodrigues found in Presidents Vargas and Kubitschek forces for progress and development in the country. He has divided his work into two parts: national character and national aspiration, using a brief, but relevant, bibliography. Instead of employing a nationalistic narcissism of using Brazilian historians, writers, and essayists to write about their own people as "through a looking glass," Rodrigues relies mostly upon the literature of foreign travelers in Brazil, who see Brazilians through a window. From here he extracts a portrait of Brazilian features, which is not very original. The analysis of Brazilian national aspirations, on the other hand, is based upon Brazilian writings,

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sources, and critical secondary items. This part is pithy, well digested, and extremely well handled. It provides a number of ideas and interpretations for the university course on Brazilian history.

New York University HARRY BERNSTEIN

SUGAR AND SOCIETY IN THE CARIBBEAN: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CUBAN AGRICULTURE. By *Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez.* With an appendix by *José Antonio Guerra y Debén.* Foreword by *Sidney W. Mintz.* [Caribbean Series, Number 7.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xliv, 218. $5.00.) During the fifty years from 1909, when our second occupation of Cuba ended, until 1959, when Castro occupied Havana, Cuba was our largest sugar supplier, our chief Caribbean customer, and the world's biggest raw sugar exporter. More than most temperate Cubans, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez warned repeatedly of the latent explosiveness of the island's monoculture. The present book is a translation of his *Azúcar y población en las Antillas* (1927). "Political decay" was Cuba's fate, he wrote in 1927, for "within a quarter of a century, either the latifundium or the republic will no longer exist. The Cuban people . . . will have lost them both. That . . . is Cuba's manifest destiny in the twentieth century." Cuba with our help could have resorted to intensive, nonconventional therapy to escape an outcome made clear by Guerra's data on the Antillean sugar islands. This study supports some of the "heretical" measures of Raúl Prebisch, secretary-general of the 1964 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Several delegations, including ours, talked as if they had never heard of Guerra. On a world stage he apparently was as ignored as a prophet as he was in Cuba. I took a sentence from Guerra urging Cuba to adopt an agrarian system like Denmark's as the theme of *Azúcar amargo—un estudio de la economía cubana* (1955). Guerra's courage in predicting a bitter destiny for Cuba would have been more sharply focused by a shorter foreword by Mintz, by eliminating a long appendix of slight value, and had "central" not been confused with "batey" and "ingenio" in Majory M. Urquidi's translation. Happily, it is a more refined product than was our dollar diplomacy.

East Carolina College BYRON WHITE

CUBA: THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION. By *Dudley Seers et al.* Edited by *Dudley Seers.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. xx, 432. $7.50.) Two Chilean and two English economists have written an admittedly tentative study of the Castro regime's accomplishments in agriculture, industry, and education. They stress the Cuban government's four-year plan which is described as the first effort by a major exporter of primary products to seek rapid growth and basic social change through central planning. The authors, each of whom assumes responsibility for his own chapters, had limited access to the statistical data of the Central Planning Board (JUCEPLAN), but did receive assistance from other government agencies and were able to travel within Cuba in August and September 1962 to observe firsthand many facets of the Cuban economy. The authors believe that the Cuban planners have made serious errors and that many of their successes are attributable to unused resources inherited from pre-Castro Cuba. Rural living standards, however, have been improved, and achievements in education are substantial. The prospects for industrialization are good, provided a relaxation of tension with the United States occurs and large amounts of economic assistance from Communist countries are forthcoming. On the other hand, these conclusions are unduly optimistic if one is to believe most informed American estimates of Cuban economic health. Despite its many obvious deficiencies, this study is the most complete economic analysis of Castro's regime yet available. Many of the printed sources used are unavailable or difficult to obtain in this country, and travel to Cuba is virtually impossible for American scholars. The text is

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supported by over one hundred statistical tables on pre-Castro and Castro Cuba, three very useful appendixes, and extensive footnotes. Considerable portions of the book, however, are already outdated by the recent abandonment of the four-year plan and the ever more serious cracks that have appeared in the economy. Among the book's most glaring shortcomings are the failure to discuss the inflation of the peso and the absence of information on the terms for Cuban-Communist bloc trade (prices of Russian goods, for example). The authors consciously eschewed discussion of politics, thus giving the study a dispassionate approach. But a purely economic analysis of a Marxist-Leninist regime, which makes many of its economic choices for political or ideological reasons, smacks of artificiality.

University of Michigan, Dearborn DAVID D. BURKS

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Historical News

American Historical Association

M. Rita Howe, editorial assistant on the *Review* since 1960, has been promoted to assistant editor.

On September 1, 1964, the Service Center for Teachers of History resumed exclusive responsibility for the distribution of its pamphlet series. It hopes to re-establish the same excellent service for pamphlet buyers that was characteristic when it handled sales previously. Under this new arrangement, a uniform price of fifty cents will be charged for all pamphlets. Orders of five dollars or less must be prepaid. A discount of 20 per cent is offered when quantities of fifty or more pamphlets are purchased. There will be no handling or postage charges on prepaid orders. If orders are to be billed, handling and postage charges will be added. Checks should be made payable to the Service Center for Teachers of History; orders should be sent to the Service Center, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

There are now fifty-nine titles in the series. A complete list of the titles and an order blank may be obtained from the above address. Pamphlets published in the 1963–1964 series were *The Reformation in Recent Historical Thought,* by Harold J. Grimm; *Asian Religions: An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Confucianism, and Taoism,* by Kenneth W. Morgan; *African History,* by Philip D. Curtin; *European Intellectual History,* by Crane Brinton; *The Tudor-Stuart Period of English History (1485–1714): A Review of Changing Interpretations,* by Robert Walcott; and *American Agriculture and Farm Policy since 1900,* by Gilbert C. Fite. Six additional pamphlets are planned for the current academic year.

The Association publishes triennially the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States.* The *List* shows trends in research and serves to prevent duplication of work. The 1964 *List* will be published in November and will be available from the Association for $1.50. The Association maintains a current file of dissertations in progress; forms for registering topics have been distributed to departments offering the doctorate. Additional forms will be furnished to departments or individuals upon request. Those registering titles of dissertations in progress should check previous *Lists* to prevent duplication.

The Association is undertaking a new program of publishing titles of completed doctoral dissertations. These titles will be listed in each *Annual Report,* and the same classifications will be used as in the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress.* Forms for registering dissertations for which the degree has been

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awarded have been sent to chairmen of departments offering the Ph.D. in history. The Association urges the chairmen to see that these titles are registered shortly after the degree is conferred. The first reporting period for completed dissertations is July 1, 1963–June 30, 1964. These titles will be published in the 1964 *Annual Report.*

Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received the papers of Dr. Arnold Gesell (1880–1962), distinguished child specialist, as the gift of his son, Gerhard A. Gesell of Washington. D. C. The papers, presently restricted, number approximately 75,000 pieces and include family, general, and medical correspondence, notes on experiments, and manuscripts of books and articles. They will provide rich source material on Gesell's contributions to the study of child behavior and to the work of the Gesell Institute of Child Development.

Literary material of distinction has been received by the Library. The manuscript of *The Centaur,* which received the 1964 National Book Award for fiction, has been given by the author, John Updike. Included in this gift, in addition to the typescript manuscript, are notes, memorandums, drafts of scenes, and galley and plate proofs. American novelist William Styron has deposited his literary manuscripts. Each of his three published novels is represented by at least one manuscript version, and there are also manuscripts of book reviews and magazine articles, including the widely known *Life* magazine account of the funeral of his fellow novelist, William Faulkner, and the article in *Esquire* opposing capital punishment, which he wrote on behalf of Ben Reid. Journalists Joseph W. Alsop, Jr., and Stewart J. O. Alsop have presented some 4,200 of their papers dated between 1941 and 1957. Although manuscripts by each of the brothers are in the gift, the papers are primarily those of Joseph Alsop, and a large part is composed of his correspondence with the editorial office of the *Saturday Evening Post.* There are also drafts and copies of articles, both published and unpublished, and material on the China-Burma-India theater during World War II and on the McCarran hearings in the Senate in 1951. Requests to examine the Alsop papers should be directed to the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

Several small groups of papers have been added to the Library's manuscript holdings. About thirty-five papers of John Chapman (1801–1854), political writer and editor, have been presented by Mrs. John Jay Ide in memory of her husband, a former president of the International Aeronautical Federation. Included are design plans and explanations by Chapman of William Samuel Henson's much-publicized "Aerial Steam Carriage" of 1842, an invention that incorporated many of the essentials of the modern airplane but that, in fact, never passed beyond the stage of an unsuccessful model. There are also drafts of statements or articles Chapman wrote in defense of Henson, his friend and associate. Approximately 150 manuscript sermons written by Joseph Barlow Felt (1789–1869), New England clergyman in Sharon and Hamilton, Massachusetts, antiquarian, and librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, will supplement existing historical material by Felt in the Library's Shaw Family Papers. Miss Florence Berryman has presented a group of books, correspondence, and other manuscripts of her father, famous Washington cartoonist Clifford

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Berryman. Among the papers are two autograph books containing greetings to Berryman by some leading Americans, including each President from Cleveland to Eisenhower. On each autographed page is a Berryman drawing of the political notable concerned.

The National Archives has recently received from the Department of Commerce legislative materials, directives, and statistical reports relating to the population census, 1940, to the censuses of manufactures, mines, business, and agriculture, 1939–1948, and to the censuses of territories and possessions, 1930–1950; records of the Chief Regional Economist, 1944–1947, and of the Balance of Payments Division and its predecessor, 1942–1954, concerning programs for reporting economic statistics; and records of the National Production Authority, 1950–1953, assembled to provide basic documentation for that agency. Other accessions include records of the Philadelphia Custom House consisting of letters received by the Collector, 1792–1860, manifests, 1789–1860, and records relating to seamen's protection certificates, 1796–1804; records of Benicia Arsenal, California, including two volumes of letters sent by the commanding officer, 1851–1855 and 1865–1866, and a payroll journal, 1890–1899; records relating to the Post Office Department's experiment with highway post-office routes, 1941–1959; records of Undersecretaries and other top officials of the Department of Labor relating in part to the Department's role in the national economic and social scene during the postwar period; and documents relating to the ratification by the states of the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution.

Among recently completed microfilm publications are Letters Received by the Secretary of War (Main Series), 1861–1870 (127 rolls), Telegrams Collected by the Office of the Secretary of War (bound), 1861–1882 (282 rolls), and Letters Received by the Topographical Bureau of the War Department, 1824–1865 (86 rolls). Department of State records recently filmed include Territorial Papers for Idaho, 1863–1872 (1 roll); and Records from the Decimal File, 1910–1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Egypt (31 rolls) and to Political Relations between the United States and Egypt (1 roll), Egypt and Other States (1 roll), the United States and France (5 rolls), and France and Other States (7 rolls). Also recently microfilmed are Interior Department Appointment Papers for Arizona Territory, 1857–1907 (22 rolls); Letters Sent by the General Land Office to Surveyors General, 1861–1901 (13 rolls); Report Books of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1881–1885 (15 rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, 1800–1882 (108 rolls); Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Treasury Relating to Restricted Commercial Intercourse, 1861–1887 (8 rolls); and Records of the Board of Commissioners for the Emancipation of Slaves in the District of Columbia, 1862–1863 (6 rolls). Also completed are the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Missouri (854 rolls) and the Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the States of California (7 rolls), Connecticut (17 rolls), Delaware (4 rolls), Illinois (101 rolls), Indiana (86 rolls), Iowa (29 rolls), Kansas (10 rolls), Maine (23 rolls), Massachusetts (44 rolls), Nevada (1 roll), and the District of Columbia (3 rolls), and the

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Territories of Arizona (1 roll), Colorado (3 rolls), Dakota (1 roll), and Nebraska (2 rolls).

Materials recently received by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library include notes on the genealogy of the Roosevelt family prepared by the late George W. Roach of the library staff in connection with his editing of the diary of Rebecca Howland Roosevelt, first wife of James Roosevelt, father of the President. Also received were copies of letters giving new information on Mr. Roosevelt's tradition-breaking air trip from Albany to Chicago to receive the Democratic party presidential nomination in July 1932. From Miss Claudia Lyon of Poughkeepsie were received a number of letters written by Theodore Roosevelt to her father, Colonel Cecil Andrew Lyon (1869–1916). Lyon, a prominent Texan lumberman and businessman, was an organizer and national committeeman of the Progressive party. The letters (1904–1912) concern political appointments, the 1908 nomination, and the 1912 campaign.

Dr. Philip C. Brooks, director of the Harry S. Truman Library, spent April, May, and June interviewing leaders in England, France, Italy, Greece, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and the Netherlands on the origins of the European Recovery Program. These interviews will be transcribed and made available for use in the library. Recent accessions include papers of W. John Kenney, Michael J. Galvin, Charles Heslep, and Ralph Block, and additional papers of John W. Snyder, Stephen J. Spingarn, Frieda Hennock, and Mon C. Wallgren. Also accessioned were microfilm copies of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* 1934–1953; a collection of newspaper photographs of Mr. Truman, 1927–1945; and copies of papers in the Weizmann Archives, Rehovoth, Israel, 1945–1952.

Recent accessions of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library include papers of Maurice H. Stans, Frederick H. Mueller, W. Randolph Burgess, Neil H. McElroy, and Ralph A. Tudor, and of New York State Citizens for Eisenhower. The library is continuing its program of acquiring from other depositories microfilm copies of documents relating to the military history of World War II and has begun a program of oral history interviews with boyhood associates of General Eisenhower.

H. R. 6237, the proposed legislation authorizing the National Historical Publications Commission to make modest grants to aid in the arrangement, description, and publication of documentary source materials significant to the history of the United States, passed the United States Senate by unanimous consent on July 6, 1964, thus completing legislative action on the measure. The commission is seeking appropriations that will permit it to implement this authorization and hopes the necessary funds may be granted before the present Congress adjourns.

The Clarke Historical Library of Central Michigan University has received more than 100,000 pieces from the letters and other documents of Amos Gould, an Owosso attorney, judge, and state senator during the nineteenth century.

Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, has received the Pat Ireland Nixon Collection of rare books and manuscripts on Texas history for its new Chapman Graduate Center.

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International Historical Activities

The Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences met in Tokyo, April 17–18, 1964, and subsequent days. Present were A. A. Gouber (Soviet Union), first Vice-President; Michel François (France), Secretary-General; Paul Harsin (Belgium), E. F. Jacob (Great Britain), R. Morghen (Italy), Boyd C. Shafer (United States), and K. Takahashi (Japan), Councilors; and F. Engel-Janosi representing the Austrian National Committee. Professor Gerhard Ritter (Germany) went to Tokyo, but because of illness could not attend the meetings.

The chief business before the Bureau was the International Congress to be held August 29–September 5, 1965, in Vienna. The program has already been announced (*AHR*, LXIX [Oct. 1963], 291–96); a circular was prepared by the Austrian National Committee and is available at AHA headquarters. With but few changes this program will be followed in Vienna; changes and further information concerning the Congress will be reported in two additional circulars to be issued in November 1964 and May 1965 by the Austrian National Committee.

The program (unlike those of previous Congresses) will consist chiefly of Reports and discussions; there will be no "Communications." Six full-day sessions will be devoted to major themes, six to Reports on the history of continents, more than a dozen to papers of the special Commissions, and six half-day sessions to the twenty-four shorter Reports. Each session will have a president and two vice-presidents. "Interventions" will be limited in time and number, and each national committee will be asked to nominate historians for them. On the longer Reports, "participants" or those previously asked to contribute in some fashion to a Report will also be given opportunity to speak.

Five American historians (Hans Kohn, Carl Schorske, Gordon Craig, Louis Gottschalk, and Robert Kann) will give Reports in the regular sessions and others in the sessions of the Commissions. The National Committee of the United States (Arthur Whitaker, chairman) and other National Committees will make nominations for the presidents and vice-presidents and for "interventions."

In 1960 about 120 American historians attended the Congress in Stockholm; at least that many are expected to attend the Congress in Vienna. Those who plan to attend should inform the AHA headquarters immediately (and not later than December 1964) so that the American scholars (particularly Professor Whitaker of the Assembly and Professor Shafer of the Bureau) may inform the Austrian National Committee and make such other official arrangements as are necessary. American historians, however, make their own personal arrangements and are urged to do so early. A large attendance is anticipated, and hotel accommodations are limited.

The *Centro di Studi Umbri* held its second meeting on "Ricerche sul l'Umbria tardo-antica e preromanica," May 24–28, 1964, at Gubbio, Italy.

Grants, Awards, Prizes

The Carnegie Corporation has established a grant of $252,250 to provide research opportunities in the humanities at the Newberry Library for students

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and faculty from the ten liberal arts colleges of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest. The four-year program will begin in 1965.

The American Council of Learned Societies has announced institutional grants for the coming year to the Universities of Birmingham and Clermont to expand library holdings in American literature and history; to the London School of Economics and Political Science toward establishing a readership in American economic history; to the University of Oslo to expand library holdings in American history.

Fellowships awarded to European scholars for 1964–1965 by the ACLS include the following: Hakan Arvid Berggren, Henrik Enander, Klaus G. A. Schwabe, and Andrew A. Sinclair

Historians receiving Social Science Research Council grants for 1964–1965 include: *Research Training Fellowships*—James M. Banner, Jr., Robert M. Berdahl, Burton J. Bledstein, Richard D. Brown, Allan N. Galpern, Michael F. Holt, Christopher H. Johnson, Harold B. Johnson, Jr., Charles Maier, Gordon R. Mork, Edward B. Segel, Randolph Starn, Peter S. Stern, Elizabeth S. Studley, Judith P. Ward, and James Wallace Wilkie. *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Richard M. Abrams, Harvey Goldberg, David Owen, and Mack Walker. *Grants-in-Aid*—Alan W. Brownsword, Norman Dain, James C. Davis, Robert Forster, Paul Goodman, C. Warren Hollister, Gabriel Kolko, Kathryn Turner, Irwin Unger, and Andrew G. Whiteside.

Joint committees of the ACLS and the SSRC have awarded the following grants for research for 1964–1965: *African Studies*—Arthur J. Knoll. *Contemporary China*—John Israel and Maurice Meisner. *Latin American Studies*—Donald B. Cooper, Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., Herbert S. Klein, Richard M. Morse, Ronald C. Newton, and Robert A. Potash. *Near and Middle East*—Roderic H. Davison and E. Ann Pottinger.

American fellows appointed by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation for 1964–1965 include: Cynthia F. Behrman, Alice J. Beven, Mildred Campbell, Alice A. Cooper, Mary R. Douglas, Paula Eldot, Dorothea R. Muller, Judith Poss, Darline G. Shapiro, Jo Ann B. Shipps, Jessie Stoddart, Shirley A. Weleba, Mary Elizabeth Wheeler, and Margaret L. Woodward.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., announced that the seventh annual Parkman Prize was awarded to William E. Leuchtenburg for his *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940;* Joanne Loewe Neel received the third Allan Nevins Prize for the best-written doctoral dissertation in American history for her "His Britannic Majesty's Consul General, Phineas Bond, Esq."

Sumner Chilton Powell received the 1964 Pulitzer Prize in history for his *Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town.*

Winfred E. A. Bernhard received the biennial Manuscript Award of the Institute of Early American History and Culture for his manuscript "Fisher Ames: Federalist and Statesman."

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Warren S. Tryon, co-winner of the Faculty Publications Merit Award of Boston University, was selected for his book *Parnassus Corner: A Life of James T. Fields, Publisher to the Victorians.*

The Western Writers of America presented the Spur Award for the best nonfiction western of 1963 to William S. Greever for his *The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848–1900.*

Other Historical News

The Commonwealth-Studies Center of Duke University and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the University of London jointly sponsored a conference on "A Decade of the Commonwealth," held at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, June 29–July 4. Financial support was provided by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Leverhulme Trust Fund. Participants included thirty-two political scientists, economists, and historians from the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, Nigeria, Tanganyika, India, and Pakistan.

The Forest History Society, Inc., has moved its office and library from St. Paul, Minnesota, to the School of Forestry at Yale University.

The Cincinnati Historical Society has moved its publications, manuscripts, and works of art to new quarters in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Eden Park.

The Inter-American Academy and its publication, the *Journal of Inter-American Studies,* have moved their offices from Gainesville, Florida, to the campus of the University of Miami in Coral Gables, Florida.

Recent Deaths

Duane Smith, chairman of the history department at the University of Toledo, died February 3, 1964, at the age of sixty-two. He received his doctorate from Ohio State University; his teaching career extended over a period of twenty-eight years.

Vincent C. Hopkins, S.J., of Fordham University, died April 3, at the age of fifty-two. He lectured for over fourteen years on American intellectual history and constitutional law, and for five years in the Fordham Law School on the history of jurisprudence. He served as editor of the *Catholic Encyclopedia Supplement,* and, in addition to several articles in his special field, published *Dred Scott's Case* in 1950.

Esson M. Gale, specialist on Asian affairs and author of *Salt for the Dragon,* died May 15, at the age of seventy-nine.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I assume that in Professor Rath's review of *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra l'Austria e il regno di Sardegna,* Third Series, Volumes III–IV (*AHR,* LXIX [Apr. 1964], 827) the year "1853" was inadvertently omitted after "3 Gennaio" in the subtitle.

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If it was not, then the review, which refers to the Crimean War, would not make sense.

But inadvertence cannot explain Rath's curious onomastic transformation of the Austrian Ludwig Paar into an Italianate Luigi Paar, or of the Hungarian Rezsö (Rudolf) Apponyi into Rodolfo. Perhaps they were emissaries from the Emperor Francesco Giuseppe?

Fresno State College HENRY MADDEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Samuel Sharp's caustic review of my book, *American Zionism and U. S. Foreign Policy, 1942–1947* (*AHR,* LXIX [Apr. 1964], 872), merely shows that the reviewer misconstrued or ignored my stated purpose. That purpose was to unfold the plan by which the Zionist movement, or, more specifically, the American Zionists, succeeded in having their program translated into American foreign policy. The reviewer does not discuss this point at all. Instead, he belabors the book for failing to establish the relative effectiveness of American Zionist activities as compared with Jewish military activity in Palestine as factors involved in the creation of the state of Israel. Such an object was not at all entertained by me. The reviewer also insinuates that because the pressure tactics of American petroleum interests and the Arab states (both were total failures) are not surveyed, the work has little meaning. Again the reviewer departs from the stated object of the book.

The reviewer says that he finds the entire work "remarkably pointless as a book," an assertion in itself most remarkable for it implies that Professor Sharp sees nothing of significance in the Zionist movement as a political pressure group. Testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee would demonstrate the contrary. If the reviewer is at all familiar with this question, he might have given some attention to the conclusion of Samuel Halperin's *The Political World of American Zionism* (1961). Halperin states that in 1945 "the distinction [was] not very important [between Jews and Zionists] *in terms of the immediate political consequences* which followed. There now existed a potent coalition of almost every significant group in the American Jewish community, a coalition armed for the struggle to build a Jewish state." Presumably it was a struggle to influence American foreign policy so that the predominant influence of the United States in the United Nations might be utilized to support the creation of a Jewish state. I think that I have succeeded in showing that the Zionists were singularly successful in that direction.

Despite Professor Sharp's conclusion, it is interesting to note that his colleague at American University, Harry N. Howard, long conversant with Middle East affairs, states that "Dr. Stevens' brief volume deserves careful study on the part, not merely of all those who are interested in the development of a more balanced American policy in the Middle East, but of those who seek a better understanding of the operations of pressure groups in the formulation of policy. . . . Dr. Stevens has made a contribution to that end." (*Issues*, XVII [Winter 1963].)

The reviewer is justified in pointing out that errors appear in the book "which could be dismissed as trifling," a dismissal that Professor Sharp is not inclined to grant. While these errors exist (and I do not accept them as my own), the reader might overlook them as technical flaws arising from the author's inability to maintain steady contact with the publisher because of rushing preparations for departure overseas. However, had the author given the publishing rights to Yale University Press or Public Affairs Press, as belatedly requested by both publishers, the end product undoubtedly would have enjoyed a greater degree of technical

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perfection. Publication of the book by either of these publishers might also have induced the reviewer to revise his estimate on the "pointlessness" of the book.

Lincoln University RICHARD P. STEVENS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am afraid that Mr. Stevens does not understand my review any more than he understands the limits of the impact of ethnic pressure groups on American foreign policy. I can only reiterate my belief that the book addresses itself to an issue of marginal significance in the shaping of the official American attitude toward the independence of Israel.

It will not do to wave in my face the names of distinguished publishers who almost, but not quite, published the book. Nor do I feel speechless over the fact that my distinguished colleague, Professor Howard, likes the book. The citation from his review merely proves that there is a difference of opinion between Mr. Howard and me as to what would constitute a "balanced" American policy. To assume that Professor Howard is by definition right and therefore I am by definition wrong is merely to compound the error of the book with its assumption that a policy endorsed by the State Department is automatically good and one decided upon by the White House in disregard of some opinions held in the State Department is by definition bad.

May I add that it is undignified for an author to hide behind his publisher to avoid responsibility for mistakes? I was obviously not referring to shortcomings of production within the authority of the publisher or printer. Anyone referring to David Lloyd George as "Mr. George" does not know the gentleman's name. And whoever writes "to mitigate against" instead of "to militate" shows an inclination to fall into a standard trap for the semieducated.

American University SAMUEL L. SHARP

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Since university presses in general have striven recently to produce durable and attractive books, public protest should perhaps be made against outrageous exceptions. I write in this cause.

The design and production of Chester McArthur Destler's *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963) are disgraceful. I counted fifty-three typographical errors, one for every ten pages, some of them so serious that a sentence becomes incomprehensible. More than ten proper names are misspelled (including mine, but I trust this fact is not the cause of my protest). The paper used is so porous that the ink has spread; some superscripts are illegible. My copy looked ready to dissolve when it reached my desk; such a bulky book surely needs headbands. For this mountain of defects the reader is asked to pay twelve dollars.

Some months ago I ordered from Yale University Press the four volumes of Charles M. Andrews' *The Colonial Period of American History*. The last three arrived promptly. The fourth, I was told, was being reprinted. It just came. The price is still $7.50, but the press, while continuing to print from the old plates, reduced the trim size (the over-all dimensions of the page) by an inch in each direction. The once generous margins—a godsend to any scholar reading a book published thirty years ago—have virtually disappeared. Moreover, Volume I looks like a shriveling nonagenarian tottering on the shelf beside its lusty younger brothers. Since the possible saving in costs by this illegitimate operation is at most a dime a book, and since the press undoubtedly recovered its sunken costs

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on this set long ago, we are entitled to ask if a classic of American historiography does not deserve better treatment. I hope so.

Brandeis University RAY GINGER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Thank you for your letter of July 13, in which you have quoted the complaint of Professor Ray Ginger regarding the manufacture of our book, *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform* by Chester McArthur Destler. I appreciate your giving me an opportunity to reply to this prior to publication.

First, on the score of the typographical errors in the book, I have no defense. This, as all publishers can testify, has become a very serious problem. Apparently the fine art of proofreading is dead, at least in America. All I can say is that the author himself read proof twice, and that the proof had the usual readings, both by the printer and by my own office. I am afraid that in the present climate of general laxity, typographical errors are inevitable in a first printing, but unforgivable in a second.

With reference to the paper, I am afraid Professor Ginger is mistaken. This paper is first quality antique eggshell paper, comparable to the papers used by all publishers in books of this type. It is a sheet free of groundwood, and in all respects up to the normal standards for book manufacture of this sort.

With reference to his comment regarding headbands, I am afraid that here Professor Ginger simply displays his ignorance of book manufacture. Headbands do not add to the strength of a binding, as any book manufacturer will readily confirm. They are merely decorative, and in the interest of economy, we gave up their use several years ago.

In general, I think that all university presses are faced with a common problem. General standards in the manufacture of books have become low in recent years, as I am afraid the general standard of productivity in all areas has. We live in an age in which pride of craftsmanship has become a dead letter, and I am afraid that we must adjust to the shortcomings of our times and learn to live with them.

I should be very happy to meet Professor Ginger and to discuss with him more thoroughly the problems of publishers today, but I am afraid I can offer him little comfort.

University of Pennsylvania Press THOMAS YOSELOFF

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

We appreciate Professor Ginger's disappointment at finding the new reprint of the first volume of Andrews' work unequal in appearance to the earlier printing. But if he had taken the trouble to inquire directly of Yale the reasons for the change he might not have been so ready to charge us with an "illegitimate operation." Let me describe what happened.

We value the four Andrews volumes highly and have kept them in print for thirty years in a long series of printings. When we recently ran low on stock again we decided to issue a new edition, in paper and cloth, with a new preface by Leonard Labaree. While we were carrying out this decision, we ran out of stock of Volume IV, but of course continued to fill orders for the other three.

Now these four volumes are each available at the low price of $2.75 in paperbound editions, surely a signal service to scholarship. For the benefit of libraries and any individual who may wish to order them in a more permanent form, we bound up a quantity of the sheets of the new small-sized edition in cloth. We

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regret the mismating that resulted in Professor Ginger's set, but it is scarcely reasonable to expect a publisher to preserve the size of the original edition in the circumstances I have described, and we believe that our over-all responsibility has been discharged more than fairly by our move in making the new paperbound edition available.

University presses these days have a difficult time responding to the need to bring out more new books annually than ever before, while at the same time keeping in print classics that have a small but steady sale and holding prices down so that the scholars who make up the market for these books can afford to buy them.

Yale University Press CHESTER KERR

EDITOR'S NOTE

On the first of September Henry R. Winkler, professor of history in Rutgers University, becomes the ninth man to serve as Managing Editor in the sixty-nine years of the *American Historical Review*. Actually he has been at work during the summer sharing with me the responsibility for the articles in next January's issue and reading articles under consideration for the April issue.

In the year that I have served as Managing Editor I found the work challenging and rewarding. Since ten or more articles must be returned for every one that is accepted, I am sure that there are some who think poorly of my judgment and, hopefully, a few who regard it favorably. A significantly large number of those whose articles were returned wrote to express gratitude for the criticisms they received, although the latter were often blunt and severe. Most of the criticism came not from me but from members of the Board of Editors and the much larger group of specialists whose advice I sought. With rare exception these anonymous scholars reported promptly and displayed both good judgment and high standards. The quality of the *Review* depends on the willingness of the established scholars to render this type of service. I am deeply grateful for the help I have received.

At the last meeting of the Board of Editors it was said there is a widespread belief that the *Review* normally is fully committed with accepted articles for a year or more in advance. This has not been the case in recent years. I had the final responsibility for one article in the April issue, for the four in July, and the five in this October issue. The average time between receipt of these articles and acceptance was two and a half months. The average time between receipt and ultimate publication was eight months, including the three months after copy is sent to the printer. At the present time (August) the articles for January have been accepted. They go to the printer in September. But none has yet been accepted for next April's issue, and any superior article received in the near future can appear in print then. In view of the fact that it is the practice to have all accepted articles read critically by at least two specialists, this, I submit, is a good record.

W. STULL HOLT

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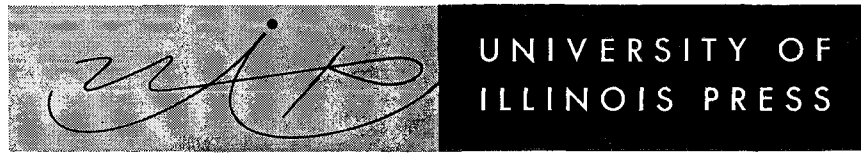
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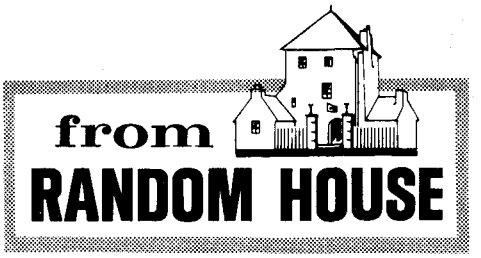
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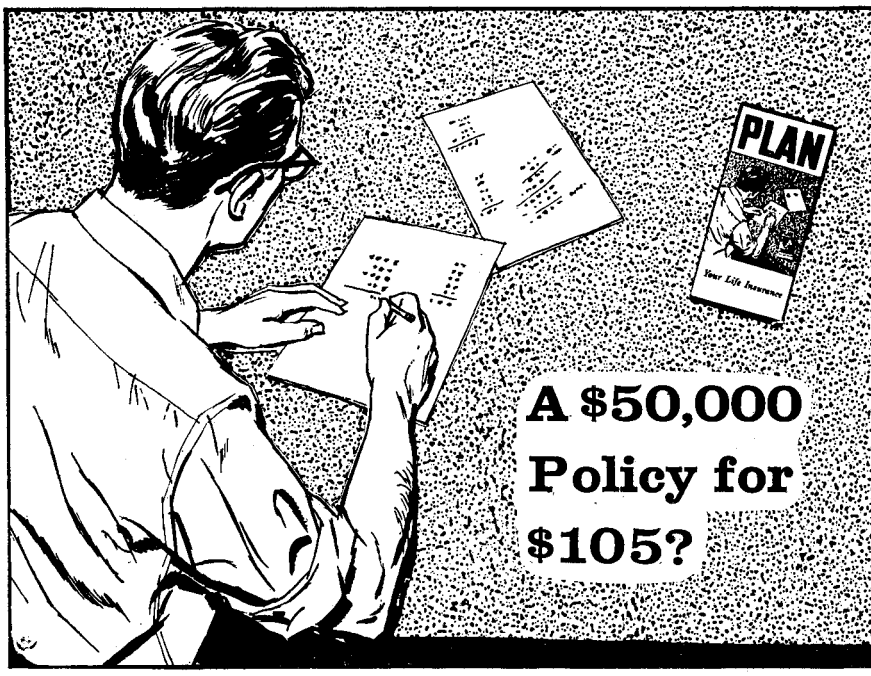
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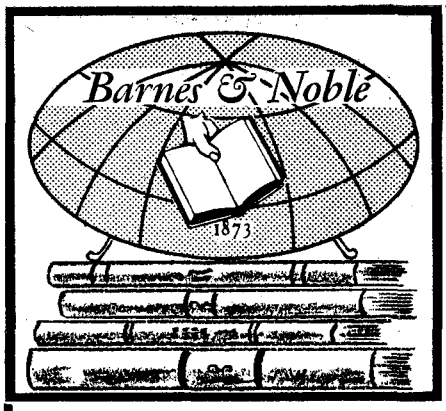
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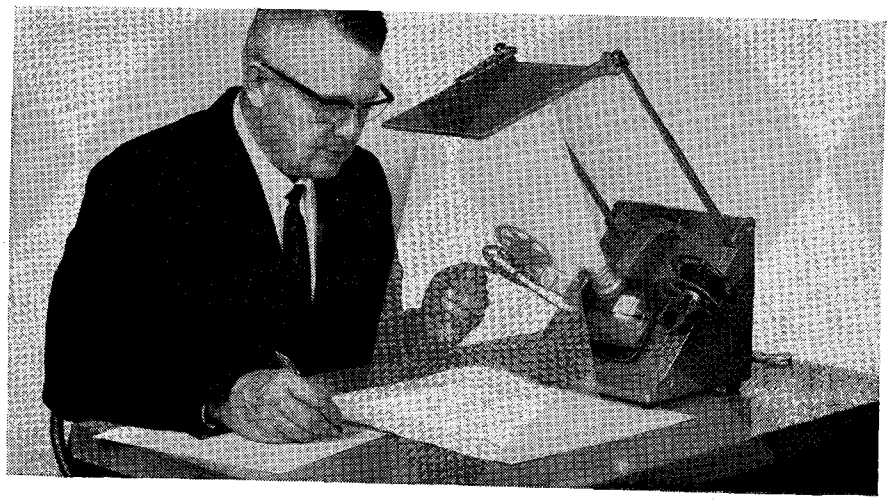
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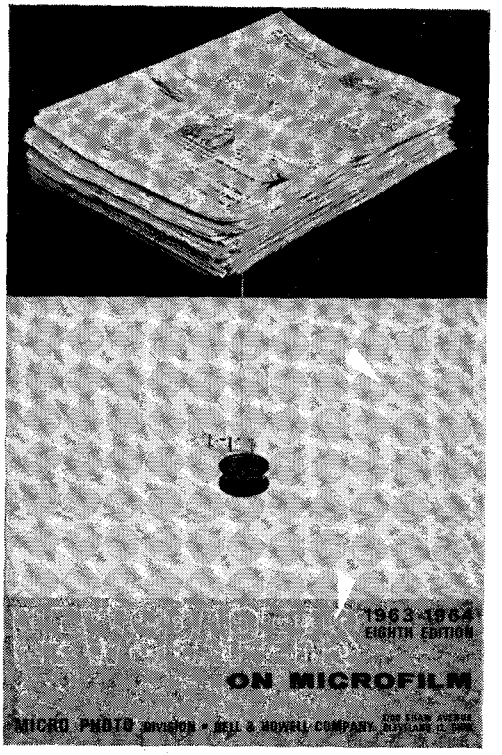
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